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THE FUNCTIONS OF REDUPLICATION IN DA'A

Donald F. Barr

1. INTRODUCTION

Reduplication is a very common phenomenon of Austronesian (AN) languages. Numerous articles have examined the function of reduplication in various AN languages (cf. Gonda 1950, Taylor 1970, Harrison 1973, Johnston 1977, Rosen 1977a, 1977b, Ezard 1980 and Mosel 1978, for examples). In Da'a (Pakawa),[1] an AN language spoken in Central Sulawesi (Celebes), Indonesia, reduplication occurs as well. The purpose of this paper is to outline and illustrate the functions of this process in Da'a.

2. TYPES OF REDUPLICATION IN DA'A

Languages vary in which part of words may be reduplicated. Some languages reduplicate complete words, including any affixation. Others reduplicate word roots, and still others syllables. Most languages employ one or more such strategies in reduplication. In Da'a only the first two kinds of reduplication occur productively, here termed complete and partial reduplication respectively. Syllable reduplication occurs in only a few rare instances and as such is not a productive process in Da'a.

2.1 Complete reduplication

In Da'a complete reduplication of words is found in which either 1) unaffixed words are completely reduplicated, or 2) roots with affixes are totally reduplicated. Examples of these two types are given below:

mpu'u-mpu'u	*very*
totu'a-totu'a	*parents; elders*
eo-eo	*every day*
tuja-tuja	*plants*
sa-nggani-sa-nggani	*once in awhile*
sa-mpu'u-sa-mpu'u	*one plant here and there*

Words which can be completely reduplicated include all countable nouns, numerals with accompanying numeral classifiers, certain adverbs (but not all) and a few verbs. Most verbs do not seem to be able to be reduplicated completely with affixation, but are commonly partially reduplicated.

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2.2 Partial reduplication

In the second type of reduplication, the root of the word is reduplicated while the affixation is not. This type of reduplication only occurs with verbs and adjectives, not with noun roots.

na-sae-sae	*a long, long time*
mo-tesa-tesa	*talk on and on*
nipaka-roo-roo rarana	*calmed his heart down*
nosingga-damba-damba	*have a good time together*
naka-kata-kata	*be very itchy*

2.3 Syllable reduplication

ma-sadia-dia *be continually ready*

Let us now examine in some detail the various functions of these types of reduplication in Da'a.

3. REDUPLICATION INDICATING DIFFUSENESS OR INDEFINITENESS

We here use the term *diffuse* to mean a non-specific number greater than one. The effect of reduplication in Da'a is to mark on verbs and on nouns (countable) the feature diffuse, non-specific, more than one. On certain Da'a verbs this has the effect of indicating a diffuseness of arguments associated with a given predicate. Some AN languages, such as Indonesian, can indicate multiple or diffuse actors or goals by reduplication of the verb root (Rosen 1977b). In Da'a, however, only multiple goals may be thus marked. Multiple actors may be marked by the Da'a prefixes nosi- (realis form) or mosi- (irrealis form).

In addition to multiple goals reduplication in Da'a commonly indicates verbal aspect; repeated action or a continuous action or state. These aspects are thus diffuse in the sense that they indicate not just single, specific actions occurring at only one point in time. Rather they mark actions that are diffused along the time spectrum, occurring either at more than one point on the spectrum (repeated action) or extending over a segment of that spectrum (continuous action or state).

With certain verbs of motion reduplication indicates a kind of locative diffuseness in which the direction or goal of the motion is not specific. In certain verbs alternating directions of the motion are shown (e.g. back and forth, up and down). In others random or indirect, non-specific movement is marked by reduplicating the verb root.

In addition to these functions of reduplication of verb roots, a reduplicated countable noun becomes diffuse, multiple, no longer single. Also certain question words reduplicated mark indefiniteness, non-specific concepts. This concept will be examined in some detail in section 3.3. Each of these various functions of reduplication will be illustrated in the following sections.

3.1 Reduplication of verbs indicating multiple goals

A reduplication of certain verb roots can have the meaning of multiple goals of the action, as in the following examples. (Material under discussion underlined.)

(1) Pade uma-na nom-bagi-bagi mbara-mbara ka ira romba'a etu.
then father-his AF,REAL-*divide*-RED *thing*-RED *to they two that*
Then his father divided his wealth between the two of them (his sons).

(2) Uma-na nang-ala roti pade nomba-bingga-bingga roti etu ante
father-his AF,REAL-*take cake then* AF,REAL-*break*-RED *cake that with*
pale-na.
hands-his
His father took some cake and then broke the cake into many pieces with his hands.

In both examples above the effect of reduplication is to indicate many goals to the action. In (1) the father's wealth was divided between two sons, and in (2) the cake was broken into many pieces.

3.2 Aspectual reduplication

One very productive use of reduplication in Da'a is to indicate certain types of verbal aspect. Three types of aspect can be indicated by reduplication: 1) repeated action, 2) continuous action or state, and 3) a form of locative aspect.

In sentences (3)-(5) REPEATED ACTION is indicated.

(3) Nosi-elo nosi-elo nosi-elo, nosi-njapu.
REC-*look.for* REC-*look.for* REC-*look.for* REC-*wagered*
They looked for each other, and looked for each other and looked for each other, having wagered with each other (who would find the other first).

(4) Ni-kita-kita da'a ria sou.
OF,REAL-*look*-RED *not be house*
He looked and looked (but) there was no house.

(5) Ma-lau i'a neka-wantu-wantu.
IRR-*go he* REAL-*jump*-RED
He moves by means of jumping.

In each of the examples above the effect of reduplication is to indicate action that is repeated. Unreduplicated forms would indicate only an action performed once, i.e. looked for each other once, looked once, jumped once.

In sentences (6) and (7) below CONTINUOUS ACTION is indicated by reduplication.

(6) Nipo-pea-pea nu bantiluku, na-tasa-mo loka-na.
OF,REAL-*wait*-RED AG *turtle* REAL-*ripe*-PERF *banana-his*
The turtle waited on and on (until finally) his bananas were ripe.

(7) Tempona ira da no-tesa-tesa bo nosi-njula pekiri wega ira
while they still SF,REAL-*talk*-RED *and* REC-*exchange ideas friend their*
na-rata ri ja'i nu ira pade na-lau no-sanggani-nggani.
REAL-*come to them then* REAL-*go* REAL-*together*
While they were still talking and exchanging ideas, their friend arrived and went on together with them.

The action in both examples above continued on, this being marked by reduplication of the verb root.

CONTINUOUS STATE can also be indicated by reduplication of the root of a predicate of state, as in the following two examples.

(8) Tau ya'a na-sugi mpu'u. Doi-na da'a ma-opu-opu sampe
person that REAL-*rich very* *Money-his not* IRR-*run.out*-RED *up.to*

mpae-mpae.
year-RED
That man is very rich. His money won't run out for years.

(9) Nang-uli magau ka batua-na, 'Komi kana ma-sadia-dia mompo-pea
REAL-*say king to slave-his you must* IRR-*ready*-RED AF,IRR-*wait*

ka-rata-ku.
NOM-*arrive-my*
The king said to his slave, 'You must be continually ready waiting for my arrival'.

In the examples above the states continue on for some time; in (8) a person's money will not run out, and in (9) a slave is urged to be continually ready.

A type of LOCATIVE ASPECT can also be shown in Da'a by reduplication of certain motion verbs. This indicates an alternation in the direction of the action of the verb. This is illustrated in sentence (10).

(10) Da'a ma-mala ma-na'u-na'u ngana.
not IRR-*able* IRR-*go.down*-RED *child*
The child cannot go down (from the house) and come back up (down and up, down and up, etc.). (i.e. he must stay in the house)

Without reduplication of the verb root the sentence does not have the idea of going down and then back up and down. ma-na'u means merely *to go down.* It is the reduplication of the root that conveys the idea of alternating directions of the action.

3.3 Reduplication of motion verbs indicating random or indirect action

Action toward a diffuse, non-specific goal, a random moving around is marked by reduplication of roots of certain verbs of motion.

(11) Ane mang-elo panggoni ira lau ne-mbua-mbua ri lombona ma-nggita
when IRR-*look.for food* *they go* REAL-*fly*-RED *in air* IRR-*see*

ana nu manu ntau.
young of chicken people
When they (chicken hawks) look for food they fly around in the air to see people's baby chicks.

(12) Mpaka ri umba? Kami aga ma-njayo-njayo.
go where we(excl) *just* IRR-*walk.around*-RED
Where are you going? ANS. *We are just going for a walk.*

In both the examples given above the effect of reduplication is to indicate an action which does not have a definite goal in mind. In (11) ne-mbua

unreduplicated would indicate flight to a specific goal (for example the bird's nest), and in (12) with a specific destination in mind the answer to the question "Where are you going?" would be Mpaka ri ... (specific destination, i.e. market, Palu, etc.) *Going to ... (the market, Palu, etc.).*

3.4 Reduplication of nouns indicating diffuseness or indefiniteness

What some writers have called a pluralising function of reduplication in some AN languages (cf. Capell 1937-39, Ezard 1980, for examples), we here follow Rosen (1977b) in using the term *diffuse*. Rosen sees plurality as having a "plus definite" feature which in Indonesian is NOT what reduplication of nouns causes. The notion diffuse, then, conveys the meaning of non-singular, non-definite; or said another way, a non-specific number greater than one. This definition distinguishes a notion of plurality different from that found in English, which is non-singular, but definite. This contrast between the two systems can be seen in the following examples from Indonesian and English (see Rosen 1977b).

(13) Ia mempunyai tiga anak.
he has three children

(14) *Ia mempunyai tiga anak-anak.
he has three child-RED

(15) *He has three children.*

In English *children* is the plural form of child, and may also be definite when modified by, among other things, a specific (definite) numeral, three. In Indonesian, on the other hand, reduplication of anak *child*, does not indicate definite plurality. Rather the reduplication marks non-singular, but also non-specific; that is, an indefinite number greater than one. Sentence (14) is ungrammatical because it contains a specific number, tiga *three* and the reduplicated form anak-anak *children* which is diffuse, NOT definite as the English might be. Hence the term diffuse is used to indicate non-singular indefinite number.

In Da'a reduplication of countable nouns is a very common occurrence which has the same function as that found in Indonesian described above. That is, it indicates diffuseness. Reduplication of countable nouns in Da'a marks non-singular, indefinite, a non-specific number greater than one. The following examples illustrate this.

(16) Kana ma-rata ma-siromur ri bantaya ante totu'a-totu'a.
must IRR-*come* IRR-*gather.together in meeting.house with elder*-RED
(They) must gather together with the elders in the meeting house.

(17) Ju'a-ju'a to na-ria ri kampu bagia nu Da'a.
sickness-RED RM REAL-*be in village area of Da'a*
The sicknesses that are in the villages in the Da'a area. (title of text)

In each of the examples above the reduplicated form indicates more than one, diffuseness. The unreduplicated forms would indicate only one of the items mentioned, as in (16) one elder and in (17) one kind of sickness.

To indicate *definite*, non-singular, as in (15) above, in Da'a must be as follows:

(18) Ana-na tolumba'a-mo.
child-his three-PERF
He has three children.

3.5 Reduplication of question words

When certain question words are reduplicated INDEFINITENESS is marked, as seen in the following examples.

(19) Tau-tau nompo-kio i'a ngga ri umba-umba nantalili ri setu.
person-RED AF,REAL-*call him from where*-RED *around there*
People called out to him from all over around there. (an indefinite place, not a specific place, just from all around)

(20) Sema-sema na-rata ri ja'i-na kana ni-tarima-na.
who-RED REAL-*come to-him must* OF,REAL-*receive-he*
Whoever comes to him will be received by him. (not just one specific person, by whoever)

In sentences (19) and (20) the effect of reduplication is to add a feature of indefiniteness. Without reduplication umba and sema would be considered ordinary question words, where and who respectively, and in these two sentences would not make sense.

4. REDUPLICATION INDICATING INTENSITY

A second major function of reduplication in Da'a is to indicate intensity of something. This occurs in several contexts: 1) with adverbial notions it indicates intensity of the meaning of the adverb; 2) with certain stative verbs reduplication can indicate emotional intensity or immediacy, and 3) with adjectives reduplication shows intensity of degree of the characteristic conveyed by the root. These functions are illustrated below.

4.1 Reduplicated adverbs

Certain adverbs can be intensified by reduplication.

(21) Ane ku-pekiri mpu'u-mpu'u kami ri buluna e'i katuwua kami
if I-think really-RED *we*(excl) *in mountains this life our*(excl)
da'a na-simbayu nte roa ntanina.
not REAL-*same as friend other*
If I really-really think about it we here in the mountains, our life is not the same as others.

(22) Sabana ana-na samba'a lau, etu ngana besi to tuwu-na sampulu rompae
because child-his one only that child female RM *age-her twelve.years*
mosu-mosu na-mate.
close-RED REAL-*dead*
Because his only child, that is his daughter who was twelve years old, was nearly dead.

In these two examples the reduplicated forms can be used in unreduplicated form as well. The effect of that would be not to indicate the intensity or strength of the adverbial idea. The reduplicated forms are more intense, stronger.

4.2 Reduplicated stative verbs

In the following example the effect of reduplication of the stative verb root is to give the idea of emotional intensity or immediacy. This sentence is in a text about being circumcised, giving the reasons why boys want to be circumcised. Those who are not circumcised once they reach the appropriate age are ridiculed by the other boys.

(23) Ra-njani-na ma-ria-ria ngana mo-tesa e'i, 'Ne'e mpu'u mo-ala i'a
OF,IRR-*know-he* IRR-*be*-RED *child* IRR-*say this don't really* IRR-*take him*

ngina.'
later
He knows that with a certainty (with dread in his heart) there will be some boy say (to the girls), 'Don't for sure pick him later'. (i.e. because he is uncircumcised)

The effect of the possibility of this happening is sufficient to motivate the boys to get circumcised. The very thought of someone saying that he is uncircumcised is an emotionally intense thing, and often motivates even the reluctant boy to get up his courage to get circumcised, painful though it is. ma-ria without reduplication means merely *there will be*. There is not the intenseness of feeling that SURELY this will happen.

4.3 Reduplicated adjectives

With reduplication of an adjective root the characteristic conveyed by the adjective is intensified. This can be seen in the examples below.

(24) Apa ni-kiki sani kada-na naka-kata-kata.
because OF,REAL-*bite mosquito foot-his* REAL-*itchy*-RED
Because he was bitten by a mosquito his foot was really itchy.

(25) Ri ngata ntau i'a na-damba-damba, na-sana-sana.
in town people he REAL-*happy*-RED REAL-*have.fun*-RED
In the people's town he really lived it up.

In examples (24) and (25) above the effect of the reduplication is to make the characteristic described more intense in degree than the unreduplicated form would be. In (24) naka-kata would mean only *itchy*, and in (25) na-damba, na-sana would mean *happy* and *have fun* in a normal degree.

4.4 Reduplication of certain time words

The effect of reduplicating time words, such as day, month, year, etc. is an intensifying one as well, indicating *every*, as seen in the examples below.

(26)	eo	*day*	eo-eo	*every day*
	eo aka	*Sunday*	eo aka-eo aka	*every Sunday*
	wula	*month*	wula-wula	*every month*
	mpae	*year*	mpae-mpae	*every year*

5. SUMMARY

We have seen that reduplication, a common feature of many AN languages, has two major functions in Da'a; 1) indicating diffuseness, indefiniteness, and 2) indicating intensity.

Reduplication of verbs may indicate multiple goals, repeated action, continuous action or state, alternation in the direction of motion verbs, random or indirect action of certain motion verbs, and emotional intensity or immediacy of certain stative verbs. What determines which meaning is conveyed by reduplication is the semantic content of the verb root. For example only certain verb roots can have multiple goals, while only certain verbs of motion can show locative alternation.

Reduplication of countable nouns makes them diffuse, multiple, non-singular, non-definite. Reduplicated forms of certain adverbs, adjectives and certain time words are more intense than unreduplicated forms.

ABBREVIATIONS USED

AF	Actor Focus	PERF	Perfective
OF	Object Focus	AG	Agent
REAL	Realis Mood	NOM	Nominaliser
IRR	Irrealis Mood	excl	exclusive
RED	Reduplication	RM	Relative Marker
REC	Reciprocal		

NOTE

[1]Da'a (Pakawa) is spoken by approximately 30,000 people living primarily in the Marawola and Biromaru Districts of Donggala Regency, Central Sulawesi. Research for this paper was carried out under the auspices of the Cooperative Program between Hasanuddin University, Ujung Pandang, and the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The research was done in Dombu village, Marawola District from September 1979 to November 1981, and January 1983 to April 1983. The author wishes to express thanks to the following people for their helpful comments and critique of an earlier draft of this paper: Dr Peter Silzer, Dr Timothy Friberg, F.B. Dawson, and Jean Dawson.

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DA'A VERBAL AFFIXES AND CLITICS

Donald F. Barr

0. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to describe the verbal affixes and clitics of Da'a, an Austronesian (AN) language of Central Sulawesi (Celebes), Indonesia.[1] We will first give an overall summary of the system of verbal affixes and clitics, followed by more in-depth examination of each part of that total system.

1. OVERVIEW OF DA'A VERBAL AFFIXES AND CLITICS

Da'a, as with many Austronesian (AN) languages, is rich in a variety of bound morphemes marking a number of features (see Sneddon 1978, Johnston 1975, and Wolff 1973 for examples in other languages). Da'a has two basic forms of bound morphemes: affixes and clitics. Affixes operate on the word level while clitics mark features on the phrase or clause level. Affixes may also be classified as derivational and inflectional types. Each of these types of bound morphemes is discussed in separate sections below.

The following paragraphs give an overview of the system of verbal affixes and clitics.

There are five sets of derivational affixes: ka-; pa-, pe-, po-; -raka, -saka, -taka, -naka, -aka; po-; and ki-. These function to form the following stem types:

1)	ka-	+ ROOT		Affective Stative
2)	pa- pe- po-	+ ROOT		Transitive
3)	pa-ka-	+ ROOT		Causative Affective
4)		ROOT +	-raka -saka -taka -naka -aka	Suffix Derived
5)	po-pa- po-pe- po-po-	+ ROOT		Causative
6)	ki-	+ ROOT		Transitive Requestive
7)	pe-ki-	+ ROOT		Bitransitive Requestive

Section 2 describes and differentiates these various stem formation processes.

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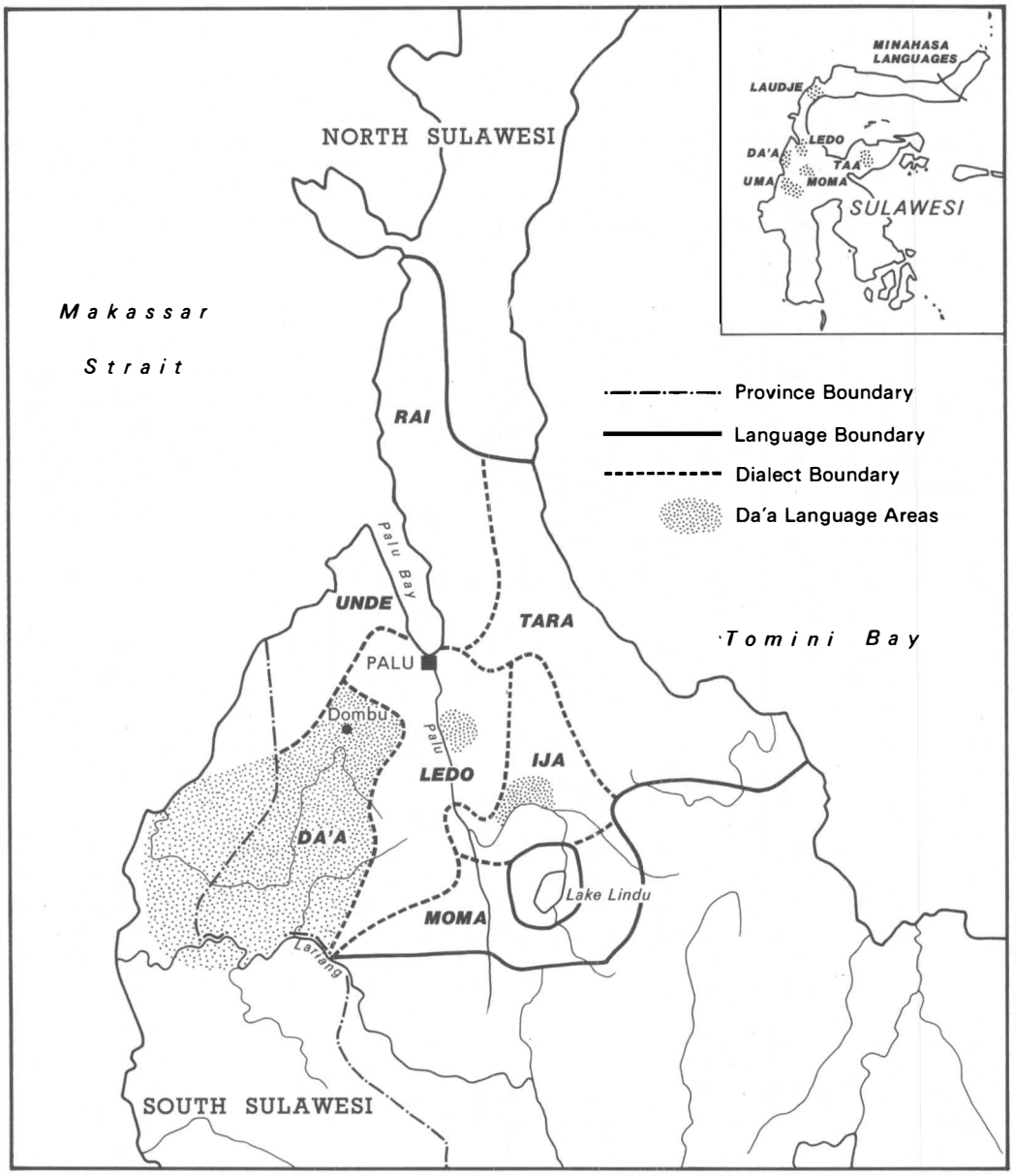
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Roots or the above derived stems may be inflected for Focus, Mood and Aspect. Two Focuses are marked in Da'a: Actor Focus[2] and Object Focus. Three moods are distinguished: Realis, Irrealis, and Imperative. Section 3.1 describes the focus affixes and section 3.2 the mood affixes.

The following chart summarises the Focus and Mood Affixes in Da'a.

Chart 1: Summary of Focus and Mood Affixes

	ACTOR FOCUS	OBJECT FOCUS
REALIS MOOD	na- ne- no-	ni-
IRREALIS MOOD	ma- me- mo-	ra-
IMPERATIVE MOOD	pa- pe- po- Ø stem alone	rapo- + ROOT STEM

In addition to Focus and Mood, several ASPECTS are marked by inflectional affixes. These Aspects are: Reciprocal and Multiple Actors (si); Non-Volitional (nati/mati); Reflexive (notiN/motiN); Pretense (neti/meti); Purpose (nipo/rapo and rapomba); and Repeated/Continuous Action (marked by Reduplication). Section 3.3 describes these Aspect marking affixes and reduplication.

Finally a series of clitics[3] occur either preceding the verb (proclitics) or following the verb (enclitics). These mark Non-Focused Actor and Mode. Section 4 describes the Non-Focused Actor clitics and section 5 the Modal clitics.

We turn now to examine first the derivational affixes, followed by a look at the inflectional affixes, concluding with an examination of the clitics. Chart 10 (p.44) summarises the overall structure of the Da'a verb.

2. DERIVATIONAL AFFIXES

In Da'a there are several affixes which function to derive or create stative or transitive verb stems. These affixes we are calling *derivational affixes*, as they take a root or stem and change that root or stem to a new stem type. We are here using the term derivational in a bit different sense than the traditional usage. While the traditional use means something like 'changing a word from one grammatical class to another', we are here using derivational to include 'deriving or creating new stems having a particular feature from roots or stems'. In this paper we treat roots as basically neutral with the addition of affixes defining notions of grammatical class, such as verb, noun, adjective. Thus the derivational affixes being discussed here serve to *derive* stems with various features (e.g. affective, transitive, causative, requestive), depending on which affix is used. All of these affixes occur in close proximity to the root. There is a universal tendency for derivational affixes to occur close to the

root, while inflectional affixes occur further out from the root (see Langacker 1972). Stems formed by the derivational affixes can be further affixed with a variety of inflectional affixes to mark verbs having the features expressed by those inflectional affixes. (See section 3 for discussion of Inflectional Affixes.) While it is possible to view at least certain features marked by Da'a derivational affixes as aspectual inflection (e.g. causative, requestive), based on the above considerations we feel the present analysis more concisely reflects some basic structural features of Da'a. Hence we include the following affixes as derivational:

ka-	Affective Prefix
pa-, pe-, po-	Transitive Prefixes
-raka, -saka, -taka, -naka, -aka	Derivational Suffixes
po-	Causative Prefix
ki-	Requestive Prefix

We will examine each of these in turn.

2.1 ka-, Affective Prefix

The derivational prefix ka- creates stative stems[4] that indicate a change of state is being ascribed to an argument of the predicate. Or said another way, an argument of the predicate is *affected* by the action. ka- creates a new stem class with the feature "affected" marked. In each of the following examples a NP is affected by the action of the verb. In (1) the floor is affected in that it becomes good as a result of the action. In (2) and (3) the action affects the one doing it. In the examples below mom- marks Actor[5] Focus Irrealis Mood, and ne- marks Actor Focus Realis Mood. (See sections 3.1 and 3.2 for discussion of Focus and Mood.)

(1) Kapala mom-pa-ka-belo jaula ri sapo-na.
chief AF,IRR-CAUS-AFF-*good floor in house-his*
The chief is fixing (lit. *causing to become good*) *the floor in his house.*

(2) Ne-ka-wantu ngana etu.
AF,REAL-AFF-*jump child that*
The child jumped. (The child was affected by the action)

(3) Ne-ka-toko totu'a etu.
AF,REAL-AFF-*sit old man that*
The old man sat down. (i.e. sat himself down; the man was affected by the action)

2.2 pa-, pe-, po-, Transitive Prefixes

The derivational prefixes pa-, pe-, po- derive transitive verb stems. When inflected these stems become transitive verbs with an obligatory object. As we note in the following section, pa- further functions as a causative marker on

stems. The examples in this section illustrate the use of pa-, pe-, po- to derive transitive verb stems. In section 2.2.1 we will illustrate pa- with causative meaning.

In the following examples nom- indicates Actor Focus Realis Mood, and mom- Actor Focus Irrealis Mood.

(4) Balinawa nom-pa-ro'o jaula.
Balinawa AF,REAL-TRANS-*hard floor*
Balinawa pressed on the floor. (na-ro'o = *hard*)

(5) Aku mom-pe-koni uta etu.
I AF,IRR-TRANS-*eat vetetables that*
I will taste those vegetables. (ne-koni = *dine*)

(6) Ngana-ngana nom-po-ngiri roa ira.
children AF,REAL-TRANS-*laugh friend their*
The children laughed at their friend. (no-ngiri = *laugh*)

It should be noted that pa-, pe-, po- occur with different classes of verbs and do not, to our present knowledge, distinguish shades of meaning. As will be noted later verbs that derive stems with pa- generally take the Focus marker ma-, those that derive stems with pe- take me- and similarly those that derive stems with po- generally take mo-.

2.2.1 pa- with causative meaning

The transitive derivational prefix pa- often forms stems with a causative meaning in the sense of 'cause root'. This is PAN *pa- which has reflexes in most AN languages. Some writers have treated related pe- as an inflectional affix marking causative voice in some AN languages (Sneddon 1978, Ward 1967, Elkins 1970). Others have treated it as a derivational affix as we are here treating pa- (Johnston 1975). When affixed for Focus and Mood stems formed by pa- in Da'a convey the meaning 'A causes B to do X' as can be seen in the following examples.

(7) Bora nom-pa-koni wawu-na.
Bora AF,REAL-CAUS-*eat pig-his*
Bora fed (lit. *caused to eat*) *his pig.*

(8) Indo etu nom-pa-tomi ngana-na.
mother that AF,REAL-CAUS-*suck child-her*
The mother nursed (lit. *caused to suck*) *her child.*

(9) Darius nom-pa-guru ngana sikola.
Darius AF,REAL-CAUS-*learn child school*
Darius taught (lit. *caused to learn*) *the school children.*

(10) Kami nom-pa-tuwu manu.
we(excl) AF,REAL-CAUS-*live chicken*
We raise (lit. *cause to live*) *chickens.*

Causative pa- may be affixed to derived stative affective stems (ka- + ROOT) to create a derived causative affective stem. The resulting verb forms have the meaning 'cause a NP to acquire the characteristic of the root'. This is seen below.

(11) Aku nom-pa-ka-belo jaula ri sapo-ku.
I AF,REAL-CAUS-AFF-*good floor in house-my*
I fixed (lit. *caused to become good*) *the floor in my house.*

(12) Ira nom-pa-ka-gasa sapo ira.
they AF,REAL-CAUS-AFF-*clean house their*
They caused to become clean their house.
(Note the contrast with the verb nom-pe-gasa, which focuses on the event, 'clean'. Here the sense is 'cause the house to acquire the characteristic "clean"'. The resulting state is emphasised rather than the action of cleaning.)

2.3 -raka, -saka, -taka, -naka, -aka, Derivational Suffixes

These suffixes occur with a limited number of roots to create new verb stems which are roughly relatable to the original meaning of the root as "Cause root". This is exemplified in the samples below.

(13)	keni	*carry*	keni-aka	*lead* (cause to be carried in a figurative sense)
(14)	nawu	*fall*	nawu-saka	*drop* (cause to fall)
(15)	sua	*enter*	sua-raka	*insert* (cause to enter)
(16)	suwu	*go out*	suwu-raka	*put out* (cause to go out)
(17)	ga'a	*separate*	ga'a-naka	*divorce* (cause to be separated)
(18)	goli	*turn*	goli-aka	*turn over* (cause to turn)

The following sentences illustrate this use of the derivational suffixes.

(19) I'a nomba-nawu-saka maku ka aku.
he AF,REAL-*fall*-DER,SUF *rose.apple to me*
He dropped (caused to fall) a rose apple to me.

(20) Aku nomba-liu-naka roa-ku ri jala.
I AF,REAL-*pass*-DER,SUF *friend-my on road*
I passed (caused to be passed) my friend on the road.

(21) Kita nomba-goli-aka pajeko.
we(incl) AF,REAL-*turn*-DER,SUF *plough*
We turned the plough around (lit. *caused the plough to turn around*).

As with pa-, pe-, po- it should be noted that these suffixes occur with different verb classes and do not to our present understanding differentiate shades of meaning.[6]

2.4 po-, Causative Prefix

A second causative stem-forming prefix in Da'a besides transitive prefix pa- (see section 2.2.1) is the prefix po-. This is distinct from the po- transitive prefix of the pa-, pe-, po- set as it must be used in conjunction with the transitive derivational prefixes. The resulting popa-, pope- and popo- combinations create causative verb stems. In the following examples ni- marks Object Focus Realis Mood.

(22) Tau na-ju'a etu ni-po-pa-na'u ngga ri oto.
Person REAL-*sick that* OF,REAL-CAUS-TRNS-*go.down from car*
That sick person was taken down (lit. *caused to go down*) *from the car.*

(23) Aku nom-po-pa-njili sero ka pue-na.
I AF,REAL-CAUS-TRANS-*return shovel to owner-its*
I returned (lit. *caused to return*) *the shovel to its owner.*

(24) I'a nom-po-po-koni ka apu buya-ku.
He AF,REAL-CAUS-TRANS-*eat to fire sarong-my*
He burned up my sarong in the fire (lit. *caused the fire to eat my sarong*).

As with other derived stems, causative stems can be inflected for Actor and Object Focus, Realis, Irrealis and Imperative Moods, as well as certain Aspects. These are discussed in sections 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3 respectively.

2.5 ki-, Requestive Prefix

The prefix ki- derives either transitive requestive stems, or when combined with pe- derives bitransitive stems with requestive aspect. ki- has two functions in Da'a verbs: a derivational function in that it derives transitive stems, and an inflectional function, marking requestive aspect. We are treating ki- in the derivational affix section rather than the section on aspect as it shares several features common to derivational affixes. Its position immediately next to the root links it to derivational affix behaviour. All the other aspect affixes are further out from the root. It also indicates the presence of two objects, another feature of other derivational affixes (pa-, pe-, po-). ki- indicates there is a person requested to do something, and the thing the action is done to. Thus we are calling ki- a derivational prefix which also has an inflectional function marking requestive aspect. Stems derived by ki- have the meaning 'request someone to do root'. When used in conjunction with Transitive Prefix pe-, the combination pe-ki- derives bitransitive stems with the meaning 'request someone to have someone to do root'. The examples following illustrate these two types of requestive stems.

(25) Kapala ne-ki-keni jole.
chief AF,REAL-REQ-*carry corn*
The chief requested someone to carry corn.

(26) Aku nom-pe-ki-keni jole etu.
I AF,REAL-TRANS-REQ-*carry corn that*
I requested someone to have someone carry the corn.

The following chart summarises the derivational affixes in Da'a and how they operate to create verb stems.

Chart 2: Da'a stem structure

	CAUSATIVE PREFIX	TRANSITIVE PREFIXES	AFFECTIVE PREFIX	REQUESTIVE PREFIX	ROOT	DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES
INTRANSITIVE			ka-	ki-		
TRANSITIVE	po-	pa- pe- po-	ka-	ki-		-raka -saka -taka -naka -aka

See section 1 (p.11) for a summary of the possible stems derived by these stem formation processes. The following is a summary of the constraints on stem formation affixation:

- ka- and ki- never co-occur.
- Transitive Prefixes never co-occur with Derivational Suffixes. These are in complementary distribution.
- ki- occurs alone or with pe- in derived transitive requestive stems.
- ki- may co-occur with Derivational Suffixes.
- ka- occurs alone or with pa- in causative affective stems.
- Causative stems derived by po- plus pa-, pe-, po- cannot occur with other derivational affixes.

3. INFLECTIONAL AFFIXES

In Da'a there are three categories of inflectional affixes: Focus affixes, Mood affixes and Aspect affixes. There are two Focuses distinguished: Actor and Object Focus. Three Moods are distinguished: Realis, Irrealis, and Imperative. Under the general term 'Aspect' are grouped all inflectional affixes not associated with either Focus or Mood. This category covers a range of inflectional types rather than a specific category or semantically related morphemes as with Focus and Mood. These three categories will be treated in separate sections.

3.1 Focus affixes

Using the terminology of Philippine languages, Da'a distinguishes two sets of Focus affixes: Actor and Object Focus.[7] Unlike many Philippine languages and the Minahasa languages of North Sulawesi (see Sneddon 1978), Da'a does not distinguish separate focus affixes to indicate such roles as Instrument, Benefactive, Locative or Referent. It appears that at least some languages of Central Sulawesi tend to have only Actor and Object Focus sets rather than a

fuller complement of focus affixes. The North Sulawesi Minahasa languages have Agent Focus, Object Focus, Referent Focus, Instrument Focus and Beneficiary Focus (Sneddon 1978). While extensive investigation throughout Central Sulawesi has not yet been undertaken, two focus systems have been noted in Uma (Pipikoro) (Martens 1988a,1988b), and in the Taa dialect of Bare'e (Pamona) see Gregerson and Thiessen 1983). Laudje, further to the north toward the Minahasa languages, has been tentatively described as having Actor Focus, Object Focus, and Instrument Focus (May Whatley, 'Field notes on Laudje morphology').[8] Early studies of the languages of Central Sulawesi by men such as Adrianni, Esser and Kruyt predate the studies of Philippine languages which describe the functions of focus systems. Further study of other languages of Sulawesi will reveal the extent and scope of the phenomenon of focus in these languages.[9]

3.1.1 Actor Focus affixes

The prefixes na-/ma-, ne-/me-, no-/mo-, naN-/maN-, neN-/meN-, noN-/moN-, nomba-/momba- indicate Actor Focus inflection.[10] In addition to Focus inflection these prefixes also indicate Mood (see note 10). Furthermore, these prefixes also carry information on transitivity. The na-, ne-, no- set are intransitive, used with one-place predicates. na- marks stative predicates (adjectives). The forms with the N, nasal, add the component of explicit transitivity, indicating the presence of an object. As such they have interaction with the Transitive Prefixes discussed in section 2 above. We will discuss this interaction below. The contrast in transitivity types marked by the set of Actor Focus (AF) prefixes with nasal N and those without is shown in the examples below. (Note the vowel of the prefix does not remain fixed.)

	INTRANSITIVE		TRANSITIVE	
(27)	me-koni	*dine*	manggoni (maN-koni)	*eat*
(28)	me-epe	*hear*	mang-epe (maN-epe)	*hear*
(29)	me-keni	*lead*	manggeni (maN-keni)	*carry*
(30)	mo-ala	*take*	mang-ala (maN-ala)	*take*

Our present hypothesis is that the different vowels of these prefixes reflect different classes of verbs rather than differentiating meaning. Those verbs that derive stems with pa- tend to take na-/ma-. Those that derive stems with pe- tend to take ne-/me-, and those that derive stems with po- tend to take no-/mo-.[11]

The following examples illustrate the use of na-, ne-, no- as Actor Focus markers.

INTRANSITIVE VERBS

(31) Na-lau-mo ira mpaka ri potomu.
AF,REAL-*go*-PERF *they to* *market*
They went to the market.

(32) Ne-raga asu.
AF,REAL-*chase dog*
The dog chases.

(33) No-rongo-mo tau etu.
AF,REAL-*spouse*-PERF *person that*
That person is already married. (i.e. already has a spouse)

STATIVE PREDICATES (Adjectives)

(34) Na-bete-mo ngana-mu.
AF,REAL-*big*-PERF *child-your*
Your child is already big.

(35) Na-langa mpu'u sapo-mu.
AF,REAL-*tall very house-your*
Your house is very tall.

In the examples above the na-, ne-, no- are marking intransitive or stative verbs. These are by default Actor Focus as there is only one NP available for focus.

On derived stems as well as roots (see above) na-, ne-, no- indicate Actor Focus inflection. With ka- derived stems (ka- + ROOT) the combination ne-ka indicates a kind of 'middle voice' where an actor performs an action in which he is the one affected.

(36) Ne-ka-wantu ngana etu.
AF,REAL-AFF-*jump child that*
The child jumped. (he was the one affected by the action of jumping)

(37) Ne-ka-nggore ira.
AF,REAL-AFF-*stand.up they*
They stood up. (i.e. they stood themselves up)

Similarly with ki- derived stems ne- marks Actor Focus as shown below.

(38) Kapala ne-ki-keni jole.
chief AF,REAL-REQ-*carry corn*
The chief requested someone to carry corn.

On derived transitive stems formed by the prefixes pa-, pe-, po- the normal Actor Focus markers are the naN-, neN-, noN- set, as these are used with transitive verbs. The use of na-, ne-, no- on derived transitive stems has the effect of detransitivising those stems, making intransitive verbs from transitive verb stems, as shown below.

(39) Darius nom-pa-guru ngana ri kelas saongu.
Darius AF,REAL-CAUS-*learn child in class one*
Darius teaches the children in first grade.

(40) Darius no-pa-guru ri Dombu.
Darius AF,REAL-CAUS-*learn in Dombu*
Darius teaches in Dombu.

In (39) nom- marks Actor Focus Realis Mood with transitive verb (here the derived transitive stem pa-guru *cause to learn* (i.e. *teach*). When nom- is used an obligatory object is specified. In (40) no- marks Actor Focus Realis mood, but is

intransitive, with no object. It thus has the effect of detransitivising the derived transitive stem pa-guru. No object is required as the sentence has become intransitive, *Darius teaches in Dombu.* While this is not a common phenomena, it does serve to illustrate that the Actor Focus prefixes do mark transitivity. na-, ne-, no- are intransitive, while naN-, neN-, noN- are transitive.

In the absence of the transitive prefixes pa-, pe-, po- it is the nasal element of the Actor Focus prefixes naN-, neN-, noN- which marks transitivity in verbs, as seen below.

(41) Aku mang-goni loka.
I AF,IRR-*eat bananas*
I eat bananas.

(42) I'a na-lau mang-ala kopi.
he AF,REAL-*go* AF,IRR-*get coffee*
He went to get some coffee.

(43) Aku da'a ma-mala mang-epe komi.
I not IRR-*able* AF,IRR-*hear you*
I cannot hear you.

On derived affective stems (ka- + ROOT) pa- may be added to create a derived causative affective stem. This stem is marked for Actor Focus by noN-/moN- forming verbs with the meaning 'actor causes an argument to acquire the state indicated by the root'. This is seen in the example below.

(44) Aku nom-pa-ka-belo jaula ri sou-ku.
I AF,REAL-CAUS-AFF-*good floor in house-my*
I fixed (lit. *caused to become good*) *the floor in my house.*

Similarly derived bitransitive requestive stems (pe-ki- + ROOT) are marked for Actor Focus by noN-/moN-.

(45) Aku nom-pe-ki-keni jole etu.
I AF,REAL-TRANS-REQ-*carry corn that*
I requested someone to have someone carry the corn.

Suffix derived stems created by -raka, -saka, etc. are marked for Actor Focus by naN- and nomba-. The forms noN- and neN- are not used.

(46) I'a nan-juwu-raka doi-na.
he AF,REAL-*go.out*-DER,SUF *money-his*
He took out (caused to go out) his money.
(Root is suwu. naN-suwu → nanjuwu)

(47) Aku nomba-liu-naka roa-ku ri jala.
I AF,REAL-*pass*-DER,SUF *friend-my on road*
I passed my friend on the road.

(48) Aku nomba-wia-taka babe ala ngana ma-eka.
I AF,REAL-*do*-DER,SUF *machete so child* IRR-*afraid*
I threatened with my machete so the child would be afraid.

As noted above, stems derived by the Derivational Suffixes have roughly the meaning 'cause root', and are thus transitive. The use of na-, ne-, no- on these stems, while not extensive, is possible. This has the same

detransitivising effect as when na-, ne-, no- are used with pa-, pe-, po- derived transitive stems (illustrated in examples (39) and (40)). In the examples below me- and mo- detransitivise stems formed by -naka and -saka as they mark Actor Focus intransitive.

(49) Tau ya'a nomba-liu-naka kita.
person that AF,REAL-*pass*-DER,SUF *we*(incl)
That person passed us.

(50) Ne-liu-naka-mo tau.
AF,REAL-*pass*-DER,SUF-PERF *person*
A person passed by.

(51) I'a mom-ba-nawu-saka maku ka aku.
he AF,IRR-TRANS-*fall*-DER,SUF *rose.apple to me*
He is dropping rose apples to me.

(52) Sema mo-nawu-saka ka komi?
who AF,IRR-*fall*-DER,SUF *to you*
Who is dropping (things) to you? (non-specific what is being dropped)

That sentence (50) is Intransitive is further demonstrated by the word order used. Normal word order for intransitive sentences is VERB ACTOR (see (31) to (33) for further examples). Sentence (50) is marked intransitive by ne- and the word order used is typically intransitive as well. Note in (49) and (51) the typical word order for transitive sentences: ACTOR VERB OBJECT (INDIRECT OBJECT).

Derived Causative stems created by the prefix combinations popa-, pope-, popo- are marked for Actor Focus by noN-/moN- predictably, as shown below.

(53) Aku nom-po-pa-njili sero ka pue-na.
I AF,REAL-CAUS-TRANS-*return shovel to owner-its*
I returned (lit. *caused to return*) *the shovel to its owner.*

Actor Focus forms are used in a number of circumstances. Primarily they are used when the actor is the topic of the sentence, thematically. He is what is being talked about. If what is being discussed is grammatically the object, one would use Object Focus forms. Actor Focus commonly occurs at the beginning of discourses to "get the action going" after a participant has been introduced and the setting set. Once a participant is established and the action begun the participant becomes old information while his actions become the new information being introduced. At this point Object Focus forms are commonly used to carry on the event line. This topic remains to be fully investigated in Da'a, but preliminary analysis shows the above pattern to be common.[12]

The following chart summarises the major Actor Focus affixes in Da'a.

Chart 3: Actor Focus affixes

STEM/ASPECT	REALIS	IRREALIS
BASIC FORM intr/stative transitive	na- ne- no- naN- neN- noN- nomba-	ma- me- mo- maN- meN- moN- momba-
DERIVED AFFECTIVE STEMS	neka-	meka-
DERIVED CAUSATIVE AFFECTIVE STEMS	*nompaka-	*mompaka-
DERIVED TRANSITIVE STEMS	*nompa- nompe- nompo-	*mompa- mompe- mompo-
SUFFIX DERIVED STEMS	na- -raka ne- -saka no- -taka naN- -naka nomba- -aka	ma- -raka me- -saka mo- -taka maN- -naka momba- -aka
DERIVED REQUESTIVE STEMS	neki- *nompeki-	meki- *mompeki-
DERIVED CAUSATIVE STEMS	*nompopa- nompope- nompopo-	*mompopa- mompope- mompopo-
RECIPROCAL ASPECT	nosi- *nomposi-	mosi- *momposi-
NON-VOLITIONAL ASPECT	nati-/nate-	mati-/mate-
REFLEXIVE ASPECT	notiN-	motiN-
PRETENSE ASPECT	neti-	meti-
*The nom-/mom- of these prefix combinations is noN-/moN- transitive, with the nasal assimilated to succeeding bilabials. This holds true for all subsequent charts as well.		

3.1.2 Object Focus affixes

Object Focus in Da'a is marked by ni- (Realis Mood) and ra- (Irrealis Mood). Object Focus marks the object as topic of the sentence and possibly higher level units as well. As such use of Object Focus requires definite objects that have already been identified in the discourse. Further analysis is needed to determine discourse constraints on the use of both Object and Actor Focus affixes. We here illustrate interaction of these forms and the derivational affixes and the other inflectional affixes in Da'a.

Ni- and ra- can be affixed to roots, derived Causative Affective Stems (paka- + ROOT) derived Transitive Stems (pa-, etc. + ROOT), Suffix derived stems (ROOT + -raka, etc.), derived Requestive Stems (ki- + ROOT; peki- + ROOT), and derived Causative Stems (popa-, etc. + ROOT).

In addition to these ni- and ra- may occur in conjunction with Aspect inflectional affixes. In all cases ni- and ra- mark verbs with Object Focus, Realis and Irrealis Mood respectively. The following examples illustrate Object Focus affixes.

ni-/ra- WITH SIMPLE ROOTS

(54) Uta etu na-opu ni-koni ira.
vegetable that REAL-*finish* OF,REAL-*eat they*
The vegetables were all eaten by them.

ni-/ra- WITH DERIVED CAUSATIVE AFFECTIVE STEMS

(55) Ni-pa-ka-belo-mo jaula etu.
OF,REAL-CAUS-AFF-*good*-PERF *floor that*
The floor was fixed. (i.e. *caused to become good*)

(56) Duria etu kana ra-pa-ka-nawu.
Durian that must OF,IRR-CAUS-AFF-*fall*
That durian must be dropped. (lit. *caused to fall*)

ni-/ra- WITH DERIVED TRANSITIVE STEMS

(57) Wolo etu ni-pa-noa n-tau.
bamboo that OF,REAL-CAUS-*straight* AG-*person*
The bamboo was straightened by someone.

(58) Uta etu kana ra-pe-koni.
vegetable that must OF,IRR-TRANS-*eat*
The vegetables must be tasted.

(59) Sapo-ku lako ni-po-wia.
house-my just OF,REAL-TRANS-*make*
My house was just made.

ni-/ra- WITH SUFFIX DERIVED STEMS

(60) Ni-sua-raka-mo doi-na ri bank.
OF,REAL-*enter*-DER,SUF-PERF *money-his in bank*
His money has been put inside (i.e. *deposited*) *the bank.*

(61) Aku ni-liu-naka ri jala.
I OF,REAL-*pass*-DER,SUF *on road*
I was passed by on the road.

(62) Ni-goli-aka-mo ompa etu.
OF,REAL-*turn*-DER,SUF-PERF *mat that*
The mat was already turned over.

ni-/ra- WITH DERIVED CAUSATIVE STEMS

(63) Ni-po-pa-njili-ku sero-na.
OF,REAL-CAUS-TRANS-*return-I shovel-his*
I returned his shovel (Object Focus).

(64) Sapo to na-dungga etu kana ra-po-pe-mbangu ira.
house RM REAL-*fall.over that must* OF,IRR-CAUS-TRANS-*rise they*
That house that fell over must be erected (lit. *caused to rise*) *by them.*

(65) Ni-po-po-koni komi ka apu buya-ku.
OF,REAL-CAUS-TRANS-*eat you to fire sarong-my*
My sarong was caused-to-be-eaten-in-the-fire by you.

The chart below summarises the major Object Focus affix combinations.

Chart 4: Object Focus affixes

STEM/ASPECT	REALIS	IRREALIS
BASIC FORM	ni-	ra-
DERIVED AFFECTIVE STEMS	nika-	raka-
DERIVED CAUSATIVE AFFECTIVE STEMS	nipaka-	rapaka-
DERIVED TRANSITIVE STEMS	nipa- nipe- nipo-	rapa- rape- rapo-
SUFFIX DERIVED STEMS	ni- -raka -saka -taka -naka -aka	ra- -raka -saka -taka -naka -aka
DERIVED REQUESTIVE STEMS	nipeki-	rapeki-
DERIVED CAUSATIVE STEMS	nipopa- nipope- nipopo-	rapopa- rapope- rapopo-
RECIPROCAL ASPECT	niposi-	raposi-

3.2 Mood marking affixes

In Da'a three moods are distinguished in the verbal morphology: Realis, Irrealis and Imperative. One further mood, Interrogative, is indicated by sentence final intonation for Yes-No questions, and by question words for content questions. We will here focus our attention on the three moods distinguished in the verbal affixation.

3.2.1 Realis Mood

In Da'a all non-imperative verbal affixes come in pairs, one the Realis form and the other the Irrealis.[13] For Actor Focus forms n- marks Realis and m- Irrealis.

On Object Focus forms ni- marks Realis and ra- Irrealis. (See charts 2 and 4 for examples.)

The basic meaning of Realis in Da'a is as follows:

> Past, completed action, a state or action already existing or occurring, a characteristic which is real, existing, fact, fully actualised. Realis is much like Indicative mood.

A possible analysis of what is here described as Realis vs. Irrealis Mood is to view these as TENSE distinctions. In fact many AN languages have been described as having tense (see Sneddon 1978, Johnston 1975, for examples of this analysis). Others have analysed this feature as a modal or aspectual distinction such as realis-irrealis (see Lynch 1975 for some examples). The view presented here is that in Da'a the notion of Realis-Irrealis is a broader more insightful way of explaining the data. Tense is traditionally associated with verbal notions exclusively. In Da'a the Realis-Irrealis distinction carries over to what are traditionally seen as Adjectives as well as verbal notions. The Realis-Irrealis distinction applies across the board to all Predicates and as such is a broader, more comprehensive generalisation than the narrower notion of tense. The opinion expressed here is that Realis-Irrealis is a more emic view of Da'a than the notion of tense, which is more typical of such language families as the Indo-European Family.

3.2.2 Irrealis Mood

Irrealis forms in Da'a are marked with m- for Actor Focus and with ra- in Object Focus. (Refer to charts 3 and 4 for examples.)

The basic meaning of Irrealis in Da'a is as follows:

> Non-past action, hypothetical, not yet realised action or state, a characteristic not yet real, not fully actualised. In this way Irrealis Mood is much like Subjunctive.

The following sentences illustrate the use of Realis-Irrealis Moods in Actor and Object Focus.

ADJECTIVES

(66) Na-bete-mo ana-mu.
REAL-*big*-PERF *child-your*
Your child is already big.

(67) Ane ma-bete ana-mu kana mo-sikola i'a.
when IRR-*big child-your must* AF,IRR-*school he*
When your child is big (future state) *he must go to school.*

TRANSITIVE - ACTOR FOCUS

(68) Aku nang-goni loka.
I AF,REAL-*eat banana*
I ate a banana. (maN-koni = manggoni)

(69) Naile aku mang-goni loka.
tomorrow I AF,IRR-*eat banana*
Tomorrow I will eat a banana.

TRANSITIVE - OBJECT FOCUS

(70) Ni-koni-ku loka etu.
OF,REAL-*eat-I banana that*
The banana was eaten by me.

(71) Loka etu ma-tasa kana ra-koni.
banana that IRR-*ripe must* OF,IRR-*eat*
(When) that banana is ripe it must be eaten.

DERIVED AFFECTIVE STEMS - ACTOR FOCUS ONLY

(72) I'a ne-ka-wantu ngga ri sapo-na.
he AF,REAL-AFF-*jump from house-his*
He jumped from his house.

(73) Ka-mai me-ka-toko ri se'i.
AFF-*come* IRR-AFF-*sit here*
Come sit down here. (sit yourself down here)

DERIVED CAUSATIVE AFFECTIVE STEMS - ACTOR FOCUS

(74) Aku nom-pa-ka-belo jaula ri sapo-ku.
I AF,REAL-CAUS-AFF-*good floor in house-my*
I fixed the floor in my house.

(75) Minggu ma-rata aku mom-pa-ka-belo jaula ri sapo-ku.
week IRR-*come I* AF,IRR-CAUS-AFF-*good floor in house-my*
Next week I will fix the floor in my house.

DERIVED CAUSATIVE AFFECTIVE STEMS - OBJECT FOCUS

(76) Jaula ri sapo-ku ni-pa-ka-belo-ku.
floor in house-my OF,REAL-CAUS-AFF-*good-I*
The floor in my house was fixed by me.

(77) Jaula ri sapo-ku na-gero-mo. Kana ra-pa-ka-belo.
floor in house-my REAL-*ruined*-PERF *must* OF,IRR-CAUS-AFF-*good*
The floor in my house is ruined. It must be fixed.

DERIVED TRANSITIVE STEMS - ACTOR FOCUS

(78) Aku nom-po-balu kopi ri potomu.
I AF,REAL-TRANS-*sell coffee in market*
I sold coffee in the market.

(79) Naile ira ma-lau mom-po-balu kopi ri potomu.
tomorrow they IRR-*go* AF,IRR-TRANS-*sell coffee in market*
Tomorrow they will go sell coffee in the market.

DERIVED TRANSITIVE STEMS - OBJECT FOCUS

(80) Ira ni-pa-keni-ku mpaka ri Palu.
they OF,REAL-TRANS-*carry-I to Palu.*
They were taken by me to Palu.

(81) Sabana da'a ni-njani ira jalana, kana ra-pa-keni.
because not OF,REAL-*know they road must* OF,IRR-TRANS-*carry*
Because they do not know the road, they must be taken (to Palu).

SUFFIX DERIVED STEMS - ACTOR FOCUS

(82) Aku nomba-liu-naka roa-ku ri jala.
I AF,REAL-*pass*-DER,SUF *friend-my on road*
I passed my friend on the road.

(83) Ane ma-gasi komi ma-lau, komi momba-liu-naka roa-mu.
if IRR-*fast you* IRR-*go you* AF,REAL-*pass*-DER,SUF *friend-your*
If you go quickly, you will pass your friend.

SUFFIX DERIVED STEMS - OBJECT FOCUS

(84) Maku etu ni-nawu-saka-na ka aku.
rose.apple that OF,REAL-*fall*-DER,SUF-*he to me*
That rose apple was dropped by him to me.

(85) To ma-tasana, ra-nawu-saka ka aku.
RM IRR-*ripe* OF,IRR-*fall*-DER,SUF *to me*
The ripe one, drop it (O-Foc) *to me.*

DERIVED REQUESTIVE STEMS - ACTOR FOCUS ONLY

(86) Aku ne-ki-tosu.
I AF,REAL-REQ-*stab*
I requested to be injected.

(87) Kami me-ki-tosu.
we(excl) AF,IRR-REQ-*stab*
We request to be injected. (said on arrival at clinic)

DERIVED BITRANSITIVE REQUESTIVE STEMS - ACTOR FOCUS

(88) Kapala nom-pe-ki-keni jole etu.
chief AF,REAL-TRANS-REQ-*carry corn that*
The chief requested someone to have someone carry the corn.

(89) Bara naile kapala mom-pe-ki-keni jole etu.
perhaps tomorrow chief AF,IRR-TRANS-REQ-*carry corn that*
Perhaps tomorrow the chief will request someone to have someone carry the corn.

DERIVED BITRANSITIVE REQUESTIVE STEMS - OBJECT FOCUS

(90) Ni-pe-ki-keni kapala jole etu.
OF,REAL-TRANS-REQ-*carry chief corn that*
The headman requested someone to have someone carry the corn (O-Foc).

(91) Kana ra-pe-ki-keni jole.
must OF,IRR-TRANS-REQ-*carry corn*
(The chief) must request someone to have someone carry the corn (O.Foc).

DERIVED CAUSATIVE STEMS - ACTOR FOCUS

(92) Aku nom-po-pa-njili sero etu ka pue-na.
I AF,REAL-CAUS-TRANS-*return shovel that to owner-its*
I returned the shovel to its owner.

(93) Naile aku mom-po-pa-njili sero etu ka pue-na.
tomorrow I AF,IRR-CAUS-TRANS-*return shovel that to owner-its*
Tomorrow I will return the shovel to its owner.

DERIVED CAUSATIVE STEMS - OBJECT FOCUS

(94) Sero etu lako ni-po-pa-njili-ku ka pue-na.
shovel that just OF,REAL-CAUS-TRANS-*return-I to owner-its*
That shovel was just returned by me to its owner.

(95) Sero etu kana ra-po-pa-njili ka pue-na.
shovel that must OF,IRR-CAUS-TRANS-*return to owner-its*
That shovel must be returned to its owner.

3.2.3 Imperative Mood

It is helpful to differentiate two kinds of imperatives in Da'a: Affirmative imperatives (commands) and Negative imperatives (prohibitions). Affirmative imperatives command or order a person or persons to perform a certain action. Negative imperatives prohibit certain actions to be performed. This may be intransitive as in "Don't go!"; or transitive, as in "Don't eat that rice!" In Da'a this difference between intransitive and transitive imperatives is marked by different strategies of affixation. Likewise affirmative imperatives employ different strategies from negative imperatives.

In Da'a affirmative imperatives are formed in several ways: 1) the uninflected root marks imperative mood; 2) uninflected derived stems mark imperative; 3) prefixes pa-, pe-, po- mark imperative when affixed to certain roots.[14] Generally verbs that take ne-/me- form imperatives with pe-. Verbs that take no-/mo- form imperatives with po-. There are exceptions to these general patterns. Verbs that are marked nomba-/momba- form imperatives with pe- also. Verbs which take na-/ma- have several ways to form imperatives: a) vowel initial roots stand alone to indicate imperative mood; b) some roots beginning with consonants alone mark imperative, while c) other roots take pa- or paN-. The constraints as to which strategy is employed have not yet been determined.

All Aspects marked in verbs, except of course, Non-Volitional, can be inflected for imperative mood. Chart 5 summarises the imperative marking affixes in Da'a.

Chart 5: Imperative affixes

STEM/ASPECT	IMPERATIVE
BASIC FORM	pa- pe- po- Ø paN- peN- poN-
DERIVED AFFECTIVE STEMS	peka-
DERIVED CAUSATIVE AFFECTIVE STEMS	stem alone (paka- + ROOT)
DERIVED TRANSITIVE STEMS	stem alone (pa- pe- po- + ROOT)
SUFFIX DERIVED STEMS	stem alone (ROOT + -raka, etc.)
DERIVED REQUESTIVE STEMS	stem alone (peki- + ROOT)
DERIVED CAUSATIVE STEMS	stem alone (popa- pope- popo- + ROOT)
RECIPROCAL ASPECT	posi-
REFLEXIVE ASPECT	potiN- (+ Affective Stem)
PRETENSE ASPECT	peti-

Negative imperatives (prohibitions) are marked by Actor Focus Irrealis affixes for intransitive verbs, and Object Focus Irrealis affixes for transitive verbs. (See charts 3 and 4 respectively for these forms.) Examples are as follows:

(96) Ne'e ma-lau ri setu!
don't AF,IRR-*go there*
Don't go there!

(97) Ne'e me-suwu ngga ri sou!
don't AF,IRR-*exit from house*
Don't go out of the house!

(98) Ne'e ra-koni tibo etu!
don't OF,IRR-*eat rice that*
Don't eat that rice!

(99) Ne'e ra-po-po-koni ka asu tibo etu!
don't OF,IRR-CAUS-TRANS-*eat to dog rice that*
Don't feed the rice to the dog!

Further examples of Imperative Mood are given in the examples illustrating Aspect inflection, to which we now turn our attention.

3.3 Aspect-marking affixes

As stated in the introduction to section 3, Inflectional Affixes, the term "aspect" is here used as a cover term for a number of inflections which are NOT

either Focus or Mood inflections. Da'a marks the following aspects in verbs: Reciprocal Aspect and Multiple Actors (si); Non-Volitional (nati/mati); Reflexive (notiN/motiN); Pretense (neti/meti); and Purpose (nipo/rapo and rapomba). In addition to the above aspects marked by affixation, Repetitive Aspect and Continuous Aspect are marked in Da'a by reduplication. What some analysts have identified as Causative and Requestive Aspect in some AN languages (Sneddon 1978) are here treated in the section on derivational affixes, as the formation of stems with causative and requestive aspect parallels derivational affixation. Thus examples of causative and requestive aspect may be seen illustrated in this paper as derived causative or derived requestive stems. One further aspect is marked in Da'a, Benefactive. However, this functions as a clause level process and is thus not dealt with in this paper. The NP marker ka marks Benefactive in Da'a. We will illustrate each of the above aspects marked in the morphology in turn.

3.3.1 Reciprocal aspect, and multiple actors

In Da'a the prefix si- may express either the reciprocal aspect or it may express multiple actors to an action. Both these functions are illustrated below. With intransitive verbs si- ascribes to multiple actors identical actions. With transitive or causative verbs si- ascribes to plural actors identical actions in which each participant is also the patient or site of the action of the other participant. This aspect is extremely productive in Da'a, as it occurs in both Actor and Object Focus and in all three Moods. si- can be affixed to Derived Causative Affective Stems, Derived Transitive Stems, Suffix Derived Stems and Derived Requestive Stems.

The following sentences illustrate Actor Focus Multiple Actor affix.

(100) Kita no-si-koni tibo.
we(incl) AF,REAL-REC-*eat rice*
We all ate rice together.

(101) Naile kita mo-si-koni tibo.
tomorrow we(incl) AF,REAL-REC-*eat rice*
Tomorrow we will all eat rice together.

(102) Po-si-koni tibo etu!
IMP-REC-*eat rice that*
Eat that rice (you all)!

The following sentences illustrate Actor Focus Reciprocal Affixation.

WITH DERIVED CAUSATIVE AFFECTIVE STEMS

(103) Ira no-si-pa-ka-nawu ngga ranjapo.
they AF,REAL-REC-CAUS-AFF-*fall from house*
They caused each other to be fallen from the house. (a state)

(104) Ira mo-si-pa-ka-nawu ngga ranjapo.
they AF,IRR-REC-CAUS-AFF-*fall from house*
They will cause each other to be fallen from the house.

(105) Po-si-pa-ka-nawu komi!
IMP-REC-CAUS-AFF-*fall you*(pl)
Cause each other to be fallen!

WITH DERIVED TRANSITIVE STEMS

(106) Aku nom-po-si-koni kayu e'i ala ma-rapa.
I AF,REAL-TRANS-REC-*eat wood this so* IRR-*fit.tight*
I caused these (pieces of) wood to "eat" each other so they would fit tight. (The idea is of chiselling a wood joint so it fits well together)

(107) Topowia sou etu kana mom-po-si-koni kayu etu ala ma-rapa.
builder house that must AF,IRR-TRANS-REC-*eat wood that so* IRR-*fit.tight*
The house builder must cause the wood to "eat" each other so they will fit tight.

(108) Po-si-pa-koni kayu etu ala ma-rapa!
IMP-REC-TRANS-*eat wood that so* IRR-*fit.tight*
Cause that wood to "eat" each other so it will fit tight!

(109) Totu'a-totu'a etu no-si-pe-kutana.
old.men that AF,REAL-REC-TRANS-*ask*
Those old men asked each other questions.

(110) Ira kana mo-si-pe-kutana.
they must AF,IRR-REC-TRANS-*ask*
They must ask each other questions.

(111) Po-si-pe-kutana ruru!
IMP-REC-TRANS-*ask first*
Ask each other first! (then do something)

WITH SUFFIX DERIVED STEMS

(112) Ira romba'a no-si-nawu-saka ri kalangana sapo.
they two AF,REAL-REC-*fall*-DER,SUF *on top house*
They made each other fall on the top of the house.

(113) Ira romba'a mo-si-nawu-saka ri kalangana sapo.
they two AF,IRR-REC-*fall*-DER,SUF *on top house*
They will make each other fall on the top of the house.

(114) Po-si-nawu-saka komi!
IMP-REC-*fall*-DER,SUF *you*
Make each other fall!

WITH DERIVED CAUSATIVE STEMS

(115) Ira no-si-po-pa-na'u ngga ranjapo.
they AF,REAL-REC-CAUS-TRANS-*go.down from house*
They (many doers) caused each other to go down from the house.

(116) Ne'e mo-si-po-pa-na'u ngga ranjapo.
don't AF,IRR-REC-CAUS-TRANS-*go.down from house*
Don't cause each other to go down from the house!

WITH DERIVED REQUESTIVE STEMS

(117) Ira no-si-pe-ki-keni jole.
they AF,REAL-REC-TRANS-REQ-*carry corn*
They (reciprocally) requested each other to have someone carry corn.

(118) Komi kana mo-si-pe-ki-keni jole etu.
you(pl) *must* AF,IRR-REC-TRANS-REQ-*carry corn that*
You(pl) *must request each other to have someone carry the corn.*

The chart below summarises the Reciprocal Aspect and Multiple Actors Affixes.

Chart 6: Actor Focus Reciprocal Aspect and Multiple Actors Affixes

STEM/FEATURE	REALIS	IRREALIS	IMPERATIVE
RECIPROCAL	nosi-	mosi-	posi-
DERIVED CAUSATIVE AFFECTIVE STEMS	nosipaka-	mosipaka-	posipaka-
DERIVED TRANSITIVE STEMS	nomposi- nosipa- nosipe- nosipo-	momposi- mosipa- mosipe- mosipo-	posipa- posipa- posipe- posipo-
SUFFIX DERIVED STEMS	nosi- -raka -saka -taka -naka -aka	mosi- -raka -saka -taka -naka -aka	posi- -raka -saka -taka -naka -aka
DERIVED CAUSATIVE STEMS	nosipopa- nosipope- nosipopo-	mosipopa- mosipope- mosipopo-	
DERIVED REQUESTIVE STEMS	nosipeki-	mosipeki-	posipeki-

Below are sentences illustrating Object Focus Multiple Actors Affixes. Imperative forms, as noted in Chart 7 are identical to Irrealis forms.

(119) Tibo etu tiku ni-po-si-koni sampe na-opu.
rice that together OF,REAL-REC-*eat until* REAL-*all.gone*
The rice was eaten together until it was all gone.

(120) Tiku ra-po-si-koni tibo etu ala ma-opu.
together OF,IRR-REC-*eat rice that so* IRR-*all.gone*
The rice will be eaten together so it will be all gone.

The following sentences illustrate Object Focus Reciprocal Aspect Affixes.

WITH DERIVED CAUSATIVE AFFECTIVE STEMS

(121) Ni-po-si-pa-ka-nawu ngga ranjapo ira.
OF,REAL-REC-CAUS-AFF-*fall from house they*
They caused each other to be fallen from the house (O.Foc).

(122) Ra-po-si-pa-ka-nawu ngga ranjapo ira.
OF,IRR-REC-CAUS-AFF-*fall from house they*
They will cause each other to be fallen from the house (O.Foc).

WITH DERIVED TRANSITIVE STEMS

(123) Kayu etu ni-po-si-pa-koni topowia sapo ala ma-rapa.
wood that OF,REAL-REC-CAUS-*eat builder house so* IRR-*fit.tight*
The wood was caused to "eat" each other by the builder so it would fit tight.

(124) Ne'e ra-po-si-pa-koni kayu etu!
don't OF,REAL-REC-CAUS-*eat wood that*
Don't cause the wood to "eat" each other! (O.Foc)

WITH SUFFIX DERIVED STEMS

(125) Ni-po-si-ga'a-naka-mo ira njamboko.
OF,REAL-REC-*separate*-DER,SUF-PERF *they couple*
They (the couple) caused each other (O.Foc) *to separate.*

(126) Ne'e ra-po-si-ga'a-naka!
don't OF,IRR-REC-*separate*-DER,SUF
Don't cause each other (O.Foc) *to separate!*

WITH DERIVED REQUESTIVE STEMS

(127) Ni-po-si-pe-ki-keni jole etu.
OF,REAL-REC-TRANS-REQ-*carry corn that*
We (many actors) requested each other to have someone carry the corn (O. Foc).

(128) Ne'e ra-po-si-pe-ki-keni jole etu!
don't OF,IRR-REC-TRANS-REQ-*carry corn that*
Don't request each other to have someone carry the corn (O.Foc).

The following chart summarises the Object Focus Reciprocal Aspect and Multiple Actors Affixes.

Chart 7: Object Focus Reciprocal Aspect and Multiple Actors Affixes

STEM/FEATURE	REALIS	IRREALIS	IMPERATIVE (NEG)
RECIPROCAL/MULTIPLE ACTORS	niposi-	raposi-	raposi-
DERIVED CAUSATIVE AFFECTIVE STEMS	niposipaka-	raposipaka-	raposipaka-
DERIVED TRANSITIVE STEMS (2 only)	niposipa- niposipe-	raposipa- raposipe-	raposipa- raposipe-
SUFFIX DERIVED STEMS	niposi- -raka -saka -taka -naka -aka	raposi- -raka -saka -taka -naka -aka	raposi- -raka -saka -taka -naka -aka
DERIVED REQUESTIVE STEMS	niposipeki-	raposipeki-	raposipeki-

3.3.2 Non-Volitional aspect

This aspect in Da'a is marked by nati- (Realis) and mati- (Irrealis) with variant forms nate-/mate- also used. These affixes may be used on roots, transitive stems derived by pa-, pe-, po-, and suffix-derived stems formed by -raka, etc. What is expressed is a kind of passive participle that emphasises the resultant state, not the event. This is similar to ter- prefixed verbs in Indonesian. There is no actor included. This contrasts with some AN languages in the Philippines which can mark non-volitional with actor in the sentence. This gives a sense of "unintentional action by an actor" as in "I unintentionally let the chicken out". This sense is not what the Da'a non-volitional aspect indicates. The following examples illustrate the use of non-volitional affixes.

WITH ROOTS

(129) Nati-koni-mo bau etu.
N-V,REAL-*eat*-PERF *meat that*
The meat was eaten. (that was not the intention)

(130) Pa-ka-belo! Mati-koni bau etu!
CAUS-AFF-*good* N-V,IRR-*eat meat that*
Be careful! The meat will get eaten!

WITH DERIVED TRANSITIVE STEMS

(131) Tau etu nati-pa-kita ngga ri umba-umbana.
person that N-V,REAL-TRANS-*see from everywhere*
That person was seen from all over.

(132) Tau etu mati-pa-kita ngga ri umba-umbana.
person that N-V,IRR-TRANS-*see from everywhere*
That person will be seen from all over.

(133) Tonji etu ni-sopu-ku, nati-pa-liu wila-ku.
bird that OF,REAL-*blowgun-I* N-V,REAL-TRANS-*pass dart-my*
I shot at that bird (O.Foc) *with my blowgun, (but) my dart passed by.*

(134) Ane mati-pa-liu wila da'a ma-wela tonji.
if N-V,IRR-TRANS-*pass dart not* IRR-*hit bird*
If the dart passes by it won't hit the bird.

WITH SUFFIX DERIVED STEMS

(135) Nati-suwu-raka manu-ku.
N-V,REAL-*go.out*-DER,SUF *chicken-my*
My chicken got out.

(136) Ane da'a ni-jaga mpaka-belo-belo, mati-suwu-raka
if not OF,REAL-*guard carefully* N-V,IRR-*go.out*-DER,SUF
manu-mu.
chicken-your
If it is not guarded carefully, your chicken will get out.

3.3.3 Reflexive Aspect

In Da'a Reflexive Aspect is marked by the affixes notiN- (Realis) and motiN- (Irrealis). These affixes are affixed to Derived Affective Stems (ka- + ROOT)

marking verbs in which an agent affects himself by an action. The nasal (N) assimilates to the k of ka- and k becomes voiced to produce the combined affix notingga- or motingga-.

It should be noted that this is not the only strategy in Da'a for indicating an agent performing an action upon himself. One can also use the pattern: agent-verb-body-his own, as seen below:

(137) Tau etu nomba-boba koro-na mboto.
person that AF,REAL-*hit body-his own*
That person hit himself.

Further study is needed to determine what classes of verbs can be made reflexive by affixation and what classes use the second strategy noted above. We here give examples of reflexives marked by verbal inflection.

(138) Ngana notingga-dungga ri jala.
child REFL,REAL-*fall.down in road*
The boy threw himself down (made himself fall down) in the road.

(139) Tau na-gila bara motingga-dungga.
person REAL-*crazy perhaps* REFL,IRR-*fall.down*
Demon-possessed people might make themselves fall down.

(140) Po-tingga-dungga!
IMP-REFL-*fall.down*
Make yourself fall down!

(141) Wawu-wawu notingga-nawu ngga ri wiwi bingge.
pigs REFL-REAL-*fall from edge cliff*
Pigs made themselves fall from the edge of a cliff.

(142) Ne'e motingga-nawu ngga ri bingge etu!
don't REFL,IRR-*fall from cliff that*
Don't make yourself fall from that cliff!

(143) Po-tingga-nawu ngga ri bingge etu!
IMP-REFL-*fall from cliff that*
Throw yourself down from the cliff!

3.3.4 Pretense Aspect

Da'a roots may be inflected with the affixes neti- (Realis) and meti- (Irrealis) with the meaning "an agent pretends to do/be the root". This can be seen in the following examples.

(144) Tau etu neti-gila.
person that PRET,REAL-*crazy*
That person pretended to be crazy (demon possessed).

(145) Ne'e meti-gila!
don't PRET,IRR-*crazy*
Don't pretend to be crazy!

(146) Peti-gila!
PRET,IMP-*crazy*
Pretend to be crazy!

3.3.5 Purposive Aspect

The notion "for the purpose of" in Da'a is signalled in the verbal morphology, here discussed as an aspectual inflection. As a clause with the notion "something for the purpose of ..." is inherently focusing on an object which is for a certain purpose, Object Focus markers are used to indicate purpose. The same forms as Object Focus on po- derived stems are used. If the situation described is not yet realised Irrealis forms are used (rapo-). If it is realised Realis forms are used (nipo-).

(147) Rapo-kuya wawu etu? Rapo-susa.
PUR,IRR-*what pig that* PUR,IRR-*feast*
What is that pig for? For a feast.

(148) Nipo-kuya seme etu? Nipo-pondasi.
PUR,REAL-*what cement that* PUR,REAL-*foundation (of house)*
What was that cement for? For a foundation.

(149) Nipo-kuya seme etu? Nipom-pa-ka-belo jaula ri sikola.
PUR,REAL-*what cement that* PUR,REAL-CAUS-AFF-*good floor in school*
What was that cement for? For repairing the school floor.

A further use of the prefix rapo- is to indicate the meaning "has the relationship of ..." when affixed to certain kin terms. In Da'a kinship terminology all males of one's parents' generation (i.e. all uncles) can be called 'father', and similarly all females of one's parents' generation (aunts) can be called 'mother'. There are separate terms for uncle, mangge, and aunt, pinutina as well but frequently uma *father* and indo *mother* are used to refer to uncle and aunt. Other terms for uncle and aunt are rapo-uma and rapo-indo, indicating "one who has the relationship of father" and "one who has the relationship of mother".[15] The following examples illustrate the use of rapo- indicating "has the relationship of ...".

(150) Rapo-kuya nggomi ante i'a? Rapo-indo.
relationship-what you with her relationship-mother
What is your relationship with her? (She has) the relationship of mother.

(151) Rapo-kuya nggomi ante i'a? Rapo-uma.
relationship-what you with him relationship-father
What is your relationship with him? (He has) the relationship of father.

The "place/thing used for the purpose of ..." is marked by rapomba- as illustrated below.

(152) Na-ria wo'u talidangga rapomba-boli-boli bunga ri balengga-na.
REAL-*be also headband* PUR-*hold*-RED *flowers on head-his*
There was also a headband, used for holding flowers on his head.

(153) Pamulana mo-kae lowu ra-pa-ka-ndala rapomba-dika tinja-na.
first IRR-*dig hole* OF,IRR-CAUS-AFF-*deep* PUR-*put post-its*
First dig holes deeply for putting the posts in.

3.3.6 Repetitive Aspect/Continuous Aspect

In Da'a as in many AN languages, repetitive and continuous aspect is marked by reduplication. Reduplication in Da'a functions in two major ways, indicating

Intensity of degree, and Diffuseness or Indefiniteness. In this second major category is included aspectual diffuseness, or repetitive and continuous action or state.

We here use the term diffuse to mean a non-specific number greater than one. The effect of reduplication in Da'a is to mark on countable nouns and verbs the feature diffuse. We here call verbal aspect signalled by reduplication diffuse in the sense that the actions thus marked are not just single, specific actions occurring at only one point in time. Rather they are actions that are diffused along the time spectrum, occurring either at more than one point on the spectrum (repeated action), or extending over a segment of that spectrum (continuous action or state).[16]

To indicate *Repeated Action* the whole verb may be reduplicated, or the verb root may be reduplicated as seen below.

(154) Nosi-elo, nosi-elo, nosi-elo, nosi-njapu.
REC,REAL-*look.for* REC,REAL-*look.for* REC,REAL-*look.for* REC,REAL-*wager*
They looked and looked and looked for each other, having wagered (who would find the other first).

(155) Ni-kita-kita da'a ria sou.
OF,REAL-*look*-RED *not be house*
He looked and he looked (O.Foc) *(but) there was no house.*

(156) Ma-lau i'a ne-ka-wantu-wantu.
IRR-*go he* AF,REAL-AFF-*jump*-RED
He goes by means of jumping. (referring to an animal called Musang Sulawesi)

In each of the examples above the effect of the reduplication is to indicate repeated actions. Unreduplicated forms would indicate only an action performed once (i.e. looked for once, looked once, jumped once).

Continuous Action is also indicated by reduplication.

(157) Ni-po-pea-pea nu bantiluku, na-tasa-mo loka-na.
OF,REAL-TRANS-*wait*-RED AG *turtle* REAL-*ripe*-PERF *bananas-his*
The turtle waited on and on (until finally) his bananas were ripe.

(158) Tempona ira da no-tesa-tesa bo nosi-njula pekiri, wega
while they still AF,REAL-*talk*-RED *and* REC,REAL-*exchange ideas friend*
ira na-rata ri ja'i nu ira.
their REAL-*come to them.*
While they were still talking and exchanging ideas, their friend came up to them.

The actions indicated by reduplicated forms above continued on for some time.

Continuous State can also be shown by reduplication of the root of stative verbs.

(159) Tau ya'a na-sugi mpu'u. Doi-na da'a ma-opu-opu sampe
man that REAL-*rich very money-his not* IRR-*run.out*-RED *up.to*
mpae-mpae.
year-RED
That man is very rich. His money won't run out for years.

(160) Nang-uli magau ka batua-na, 'Komi kana ma-sadia-dia mom-po-pea
AF,REAL-*say* *king* *to* *slave-his* *you* *must* IRR-*ready*-RED AF,IRR-TRANS-*wait*
ka-rata-ku.
NOM-*arrive-my*
The king said to his slave, 'You must be continually ready waiting for my arrival'.

In the examples above the states continued on for some time; in (159) a person's money will not run out or be gone, and in (160) a slave is urged to be continually ready.

4. PRONOUN CLITICS

In Da'a there are both free standing pronouns and pronoun clitics (see note 3). In Actor Focus free standing forms are used to refer to the actor. In Object Focus where the grammatical object is in focus, yet actor information is still needed in the clause, Non-Focused Actor pronoun clitics are used. Non-Focused Actor *enclitics* are identical with possessive markers or nouns. Chart 8 summarises the system of personal pronouns in Da'a.

Chart 8: Personal pronouns

	FOCUSED PHRASE	NON-FOCUSED ACTOR PROCLITICS	NON-FOCUSED ACTOR ENCLITICS	POSSESSIVE ENCLITICS
Singular				
I	aku	ku-	-ku	-ku
you(sg)	iko	mu-	-mu	-mu
he, she	i'a	-	-na	-na
Plural				
we(incl)	kita	-	-ta	-ta
we(excl)	kami	-	kami[17]	kami[17]
you(pl)	komi	-	-mu[18]	-mu[18]
they	ira	-	ira[19]	ira[19]

We will discuss and illustrate the pronoun clitics as they are used in Da'a verbal clauses.

4.1 Non-Focused Actor Proclitics

The proclitics in Da'a are not common, and as noted in the chart above only two persons can be marked in this way, 1sg (ku-) and 2sg (mu-). These occur in very informal, intimate conversation and never in indirect discourse. In the related Moma dialect two other persons are also possible, 1pl(incl) (ta-) and 2pl (koi-).

The following sequence from an animal fable illustrates the use of Non-Focused Actor Proclitics.

(161) Da'a ma-mala aku mu-raga. (says dog to pig)
not IRR-*able I you-chase*
You can't chase ME!

Ma-mala ku-raga. (says pig to dog)
IRR-*able I-chase*
I can chase (you). (you is topic and thus elided)

Ane da'a iko ku-raga ma-gese mompe we'i.
if not you I-chase AF,IRR-*rub medicine like.this*
If (you claim) I can't chase you (focused) *rub this medicine on like this.* (puts medicine on nose to make a game of the chase)

Our present hypothesis is that the proclitics indicate highly intimate, informal direct speech. This is an area needing further study.

4.2 Non-Focused Actor Enclitics

In Object Focus in direct and indirect speech Non-Focused Actor pronoun enclitics are used to mark the actor when not the focused element of the clause. As noted in the chart below Da'a varies in its use of these enclitics. Some areas primarily centered around the village of Dombu do not have shortened forms for 3pl (ira), while other areas use -ra. Similarly those areas that use -ra also use -mi for 2pl while the villages centered around Dombu use -mu, the same form as for 2sg. No Da'a areas use a shortened form for 1pl(excl) (kami). All other persons and numbers have shortened forms.

Comparing Moma and another related dialect, Ledo, we note that Ledo lacks only 1pl(excl) (kami) shortened forms, while in Moma 1pl(excl) (kami) and 2pl (komi) do not have the shortened forms. These features are displayed in the following chart:

Chart 9: Non-Focused Actor Enclitics

	DA'A	LEDO	MOMA
I	-ku	-ku	-ku
you(sg)	-mu	-mu	-mu
he,she	-na	-na	-na
we(incl)	-ta	-ta	-ta
we(excl)	kami	kami	kami
you(pl)	-mu/-mi	-miu	komi
they	ira/-ra	-ra	-ra

Examples of Non-Focused Actor enclitics in Da'a are as follows (Dombu dialect examples given):

(162) Ni-oli-ku ose etu.
OF,REAL-*buy-I rice that*
The rice was bought by me.

(163) Ni-oli-mu ose etu.
OF,REAL-*buy-you rice that*
The rice was bought by you(sg).

(164) Ni-oli-na ose etu.
OF,REAL-*buy-he/she rice that*
The rice was bought by him/her.

(165) Ni-oli-ta ose etu.
OF,REAL-*buy-we*(incl) *rice that*
The rice was bought by us(incl).

(166) Ni-oli kami ose etu.
OF,REAL-*buy we*(excl) *rice that*
The rice was bought by us(excl).

(167) Ni-oli-mu ose etu.
OF,REAL-*buy-you*(pl) *rice that*
The rice was bought by you(pl).

(168) Ni-oli ira ose etu.
OF,REAL-*buy they rice that*
The rice was bought by them.

5. MODAL CLITICS

Da'a has three modal clitics that occur within the predicate phrase. These function on clause constituents and higher level discourse units even though phonologically they attach to the verb. Proclitic da occurs prior to the inflectional affixes, and enclitics mo and pa occur following the Non-Focused Actor enclitics, if present. Otherwise they follow the verb root, or derivational suffixes, if present. pa can also follow the negative rather than the verb (see examples (182) and (183)).

5.1 da

The proclitic da indicates durative mode. It can be translated *still, yet*. It also combines with the enclitic pa in the form da + VERB + pa to mean *still more*. Examples follow.

(169) Da na-randoo i'a.
still REAL-*unmarried.girl she*
She's still an unmarried girl.

(170) Da na-kura ue.
still REAL-*lack water*
Water is still lacking.

(171) Da na-ria-pa ose.
still REAL-*be-more rice*
There is still more rice.

5.2 mo

The enclitic mo usually indicates that an action has occurred (PERFECTIVE) or that a state is existing, and thus is often translated *already* when it occurs with Realis Mood. With Irrealis Mood mo indicates that the action is imminent.

With Imperative Mood it indicates a softened command. In addition to these functions, mo also functions as a discourse particle possibly indicating what is thematically prominent in the view of the speaker. This use of mo needs further study.[20] Some examples of mo are given below.

(172) Na-lau-mo i'a.
REAL-*go*-PERF *he*
He already went.

(173) Ni-tuja-na-mo jole.
OF,REAL-*plant-he*-PERF *corn*
Corn was already planted by him.

(174) Ma-uja-mo.
IRR-*rain*-PERF
It's going to rain (soon).

(175) Pe-sai-mo-ruru!
IMP-*stop.by*-PERF-*first*
Stop by for a bit! (command made into request by softening with mo)

(176) Pone-mo!
climb.up-PERF
Climb up! (i.e. *come up into the house!*)

5.3 pa

The enclitic pa has a number of functions in Da'a. These are listed and illustrated below.

5.3.1 'more of something'

(177) Dika sakedi-pa!
put little-more
Put a little more (there)!

(178) Tambai-pa!
add-more
Add some more!

5.3.2 'still' (usually in conjunction with da)[21]

(179) Da na-ria-pa ose.
still REAL-*be-more rice*
There's still more rice.

(180) Nau-pa damo iwetu ...
even.though-still like.that
Even though it is still like that ... (cf. naudamo *even though*)

5.3.3 'too, also'

(181) Ngga ri setu-pa ...
from there-too
From there too ...

5.3.4 'yet, with negative' (da'apa)

(182) Da'a-pa na-lai i'a.
not-yet REAL-*go he*
He has not yet gone.

(183) Ne'e-pa ma-lau!
don't-yet IRR-*go*
Don't go yet!

5.3.5 'comparative degree'

(184) Duria e'i na-momi-pa duria etu.
durian this REAL-*sweet-er durian that*
This durian is sweeter than that one.

(185) Sapo etu na-langa-pa sapo e'i.
house that REAL-*tall-er house this*
That house is taller than this one.

(186) Agina-pa ma-lau ri poroye pade ne-to'o ri se'i.
better IRR-*go to project than* REAL-*live here*
It is better to go to the (resettlement) project than to stay here.

5.3.6 'sequential marker'

pa indicates the first of two or more happenings. It often follows phrases begun with sangga *after ...*

(187) Sangga na-gana-pa tuwu-na walu mbengi pade ni-keni
after REAL-*enough*-SEQ *age-his eight nights then* OF,REAL-*carry*

n-totu'a-na mpaka ri ja'i pue-na.
AG-*parents-his to grandparents-his*
After he was eight days old he was taken by his parents to his grandparents. (pa marks the first of a sequence (SEQ) of happenings)

As with mo the full discourse functions of pa have not been fully investigated. Further study will show these in more depth.

6. SUMMARY CHART OF DA'A VERB STRUCTURE

Chart 10 gives an overall summary of the structure of Da'a verbs. Co-occurrence restrictions of the various affixes are found in the body of the paper and are not listed again here.

Chart 10: Structure of Da'a verbs

		INTRANSITIVE	TRANSITIVE ACTOR FOCUS	TRANSITIVE OBJECT FOCUS
MODAL ENCLITICS		mo pa	mo pa	mo pa
NON-FOCUSED ACTOR ENCLITICS				-ku -mu -nə -ta kami -mu ira
STEM	Derivational Suffixes		-raka -saka -taka -naka -aka	-raka -saka -taka -naka -aka
	ROOT			
	Requestive Prefix	ki-	ki-	ki-
	Affective Prefix	ka-	ka-	ka-
	Transitive Prefixes		pa- pe- po-	pa- pe- po-
	Causative Prefix		po-	po-
PRETENSE ASPECT PREFIX		ti-		
REFLEXIVE ASPECT PREFIX			tiN-	
NON-VOLITIONAL ASPECT PREFIX		ti- te-		
RECIPROCAL ASPECT MULTIPLE ACTORS PREFIX		si-	si-	si-
TRANSITIVE PREFIX (with reciprocal)			po-	po-
FOCUS PREFIXES	Irrealis	ma- me- mo-	ma- maN- me- meN- mo- moN- momba-	ra-
	Realis	na- ne- no-	na- naN- ne- neN- no- noN- nomba-	ni-
NON-FOCUSED ACTOR PROCLITICS				ku- mu-
MODAL PROCLITIC		da	da	da

ABBREVIATIONS USED

AF	Actor Focus	incl	inclusive pronoun
OF	Object Focus	excl	exclusive pronoun
REAL	Realis Mood	AG	agent
IRR	Irrealis Mood	RM	relative marker
IMP	Imperative Mood	REC	Reciprocal prefix
CAUS	Causative prefix	N-V	Non-Volitional prefix
AFF	Affective prefix	REFL	Reflexive prefix
TRANS	Transitive prefix	PRET	Pretense prefix
DER SUF	Derivational Suffix	PUR	Purpose prefix
REQ	Requestive	RED	reduplication
PERF	Perfective	NOM	Nominalising prefix

NOTES

[1] Da'a (Pakawa) is one of at least seven dialects of Kaili, an AN language spoken in Central Sulawesi by approximately 300,000 speakers (Wumbu 1973, Barr, Barr and Salombe 1979). The Da'a dialect is spoken by approximately 30,000 people living primarily in the Marawola and Biromaru Districts of Donggala Regency, Central Sulawesi. Research for this paper was carried out under the auspices of the Cooperative Program between Hasanuddin University and the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Research was done in Dombu village, Marawola District from July 1979 to November 1981, and January 1983 to March 1983. The author wishes to thank the following for their valuable comments and critique of an earlier draft of this paper: Dr Lawrence Reid, Lou Hohulin, F.B. Dawson, and Jean Dawson. The final analysis remains the author's.

[2] Here we follow Benton's definition given in Schachter 1976, which states: "Actor is the entity to which the action of the verb is attributed. Action serves as a cover term for actions, happenings, conditions in general".

[3] The term clitic is used as both enclitics (following the root) and proclitics (preceding the root) are used. The enclitics do not alter the stress of the root as do Da'a suffixes (-raka, -saka, etc.).

[4] In this paper the term stative ascribes a state to a patient. (See Johnston 1975 for a similar use of ke- in Cotabato Manobo.)

[5] When using the terms actor and object focus we are talking about surface grammatical categories, while the terms actor and patient refer to semantic roles or relationships which nouns or noun phrases have with the verb.

[6] It is possible that Da'a has lost a broader function of these suffixes. In the Uma (Pipikoro) language to the south, there are clitics ra-ka, from *they* plus benefactive ka, and also ta-ka, from kita *we*(incl) plus the benefactive ka. Uma also has person markers na *he, she* and a *I*, but these do not occur with ka. Da'a also has a benefactive marker, ka, which is clearly related to Indonesian kan 'benefactive, cause'. Further comparative studies in Central Sulawesi languages may reveal the exact history of Da'a -raka, -saka, -taka, -naka, and -aka, but for the present they seem to occur with different classes of roots to derive new stems.

[7] For discussion of Focus in Philippine languages see McKaughan 1958, Dean 1958, Healey 1960, Pike 1964, Hidalgo 1970 and Naylor 1975.

[8] See maps on p.12 for locations of these languages.

[9] The Hasanuddin University-Summer Institute of Linguistics Cooperative Program has begun field programs in the following languages of Sulawesi: in Central Sulawesi, Da'a, Uma and Balantak, and in South Sulawesi, Konjo and Seko.

[10] Forms beginning with n- are Realis Mood, while those beginning with m- are Irrealis. See section 3.2 below, and refer to Barr 1983. neN-/meN- occurs rarely, while naN-/maN- and noN-/moN- are the commonly used forms. Some roots take only the nomba- forms while others can take either nomba- or naN- forms. The difference between these has yet to be determined. nomba- never co-occurs with pa-, pe-, po- stems; naN-, etc. do. Both nomba- and naN-, etc. co-occur with stems formed by -raka, etc.

[11] Some roots can be derived to form more than one stem by using different prefixes. These stems have different meanings. For example, koni *eat* can be prefixed with pa- to make pa-koni *feed* or with pe- to make pe-koni *taste*.

[12] See Michael Martens 1988a for similar use of Actor Focus in the neighbouring Uma language.

[13] See Barr 1983 for a fuller treatment of Realis-Irrealis and how this distinction functions in different discourse genre.

[14] These are homophonous with the derivational prefixes pa-, pe-, po-, but function in a different capacity here.

[15] See Sharon G. Barr (in this volume pp.51-75) for a fuller discussion of this use of rapo- in Da'a kinship terminology.

[16] See Barr (in this volume, pp.1-9) for further discussion of this use of reduplication marking aspect on verbs.

[17] There are no shortened forms for these pronouns.

[18] Some Da'a areas use -mi for these forms (shortened version of komi).

[19] The same Da'a areas which use -mi also use -ra in place of the full pronoun.

[20] For a description of the related mi of Uma (Pipikoro), see Gregerson and Martens 1983.

[21] Dempwolff reconstructed PAN *pa *still*. Reflexes of this use of pa in Sulawesi are found in the Minahasa languages of North Sulawesi and Sa'dang in South Sulawesi (Sneddon 1978). Uma has pi for this meaning (Michael Martens 1988b).

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DA'A KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE

Sharon G. Barr

0. INTRODUCTION

This paper will discuss some aspects of the kinship system of the Da'a people of Central Sulawesi, Indonesia.[1] Four topics will be discussed: general social organisation, kinship terms, behaviour associated with these kinship relationships, and marriage.

1. GENERAL SOCIAL ORGANISATION

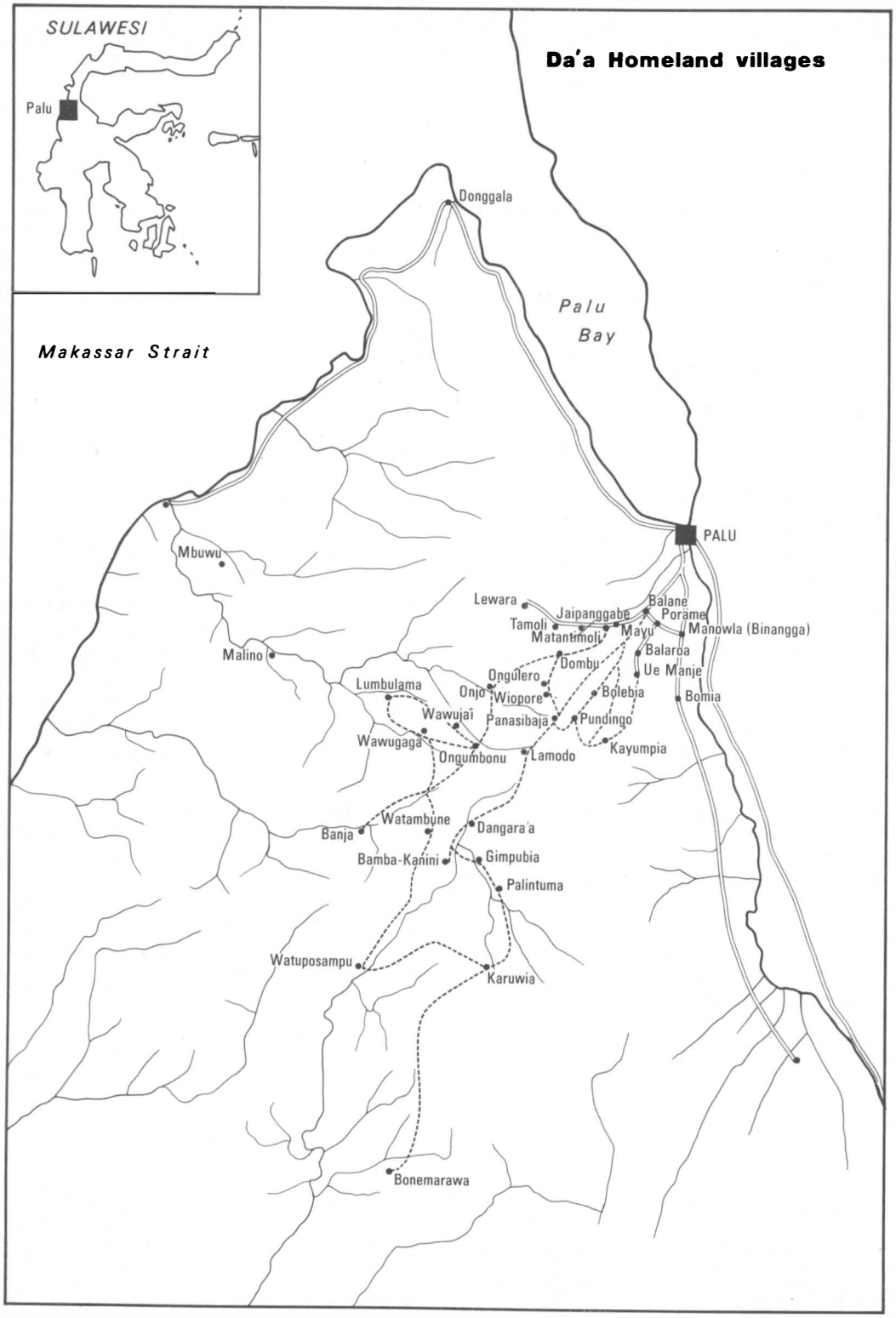
1.1 Demographic information

Some 30,000 Da'a people are located in three major areas in Central Sulawesi. Some Da'a also live in the province of South Sulawesi, Pasang Kayu District, not far from the town of Pasang Kayu, but the majority are located in Central Sulawesi.

The main homeland of the Da'a people lies in the mountains to the west and south-west of the provincial capital, Palu. This area extends as far west as the Strait of Makassar. Some Da'a have been resettled in government resettlement villages in two other areas. One area is Maranata village, Biromaru District, just south of Palu in the Palu River valley, and the other is the upland plain of Palolo (several villages) south-east of Palu. Da'a speakers to the west of Palu (i.e. in Marawola District) inhabit a triangular area approximately 50 kilometers from east to west at its southern base and about 40 kilometres from north to south. This paper will focus on this mountainous area, since this is the area where the author undertook her study.

The villages in this mountainous area west of Palu cluster around two main centres: Dombu, where the traditional ruler called *madika* resides and Gimpubia, further to the south (see map). The southern villages near the Pakawa River centre around Gimpubia. This area is often known as the Pakawa region. In the northern villages, relationships tend to centre around Dombu. People from the northern and north-western villages come through Dombu on the way to the weekly market in Marawola. People of the Pakawa region use another route to this market. People from the area around Lumbulama and sections to the west tend to use the market in Mbuwu as well.

Papers in Western Austronesian linguistics No.4, 51-75.
Pacific Linguistics, A-79, 1988.


SULAWESI
Palu
Da'a Homeland villages
Donggala
Palu
Bay
Makassar Strait
PALU
Mbuwu
Malino
Lewara
Jaipanggabe
Balane
Porame
Tamoli
Mayu
Manowla (Binangga)
Matantimoli
Balaroa
Dombu
Ue Manje
Ongulero
Lumbulama
Onjo
Wiopore
Bolebia
Bomia
Wawujai
Panasibaja
Pundingo
Wawugaga
Ongumbonu
Lamodo
Kayumpia
Watambune
Dangara'a
Banja
Bamba-Kanini
Gimpubia
Palintuma
Watuposampu
Karuwia
Bonemarawa

1.2 Religion and education

In the more than 60 Da'a villages, there is a mixture of Christianity, Islam and animistic beliefs. The majority of the churches in the mountainous area are run by the Salvation Army, but the Seventh Day Adventists have started work in three villages (Ongombonu, Wawuja'i, and Sadakanjai) and two local Protestant churches, Gereja Protestant Indonesia Donggala (GPID) and Gereja Toraja, each work in one village (GPID in Mbuwu and Gereja Toraja in Katewelu). In most of the villages where churches have been established, schools have also been begun, so that for the past fifteen to twenty years some of these villages have had schools.

1.3 Village political structure

The local level political structure of each village conforms to a hierarchy determined by the national government. The structure is illustrated below (terms are Indonesian).

Camat - Head at the District level
Kepala Kampung - Village Headman[2]
Kepala Jaga - Assistant Headman
Rukun Kampung - Head of a Village Association[3]
Rukun Tetangga - Head of a Neighbourhood Association within the village[3]

The rukun tetangga and rukun kampung are groups of families formed within the village. In one village there may be more than one rukun tetangga, or neighbourhood association. The head of each rukun tetangga is under the authority of the head of the rukun kampung or village association. The rukun kampung head is in turn under the authority of the kepala jaga and he in turn is under the kepala kampung's authority.

The village of Dombu is divided into two associations, one rukun tetangga and one rukun kampung. Whenever a problem arises the people in the western half of Dombu relate to the rukun tetangga who lives there in the western half. Any problem relating to people in the eastern half of the village is referred to the rukun kampung who lives there in the eastern half. If these two men cannot handle a problem they may take it to the kepala jaga, who in turn may take the matter if still unsolved to the kepala kampung. The kepala kampung may consult the village elders at this point, but ultimately, the kepala kampung makes the final decision. While this is the political structure, in actual practice in Dombu (population approximately 350) and other small villages, many problems are taken directly to the kepala kampung.

At the village level the kepala kampung, kepala jaga, rukun kampung and rukun tetangga are chosen by consensus of the village men. Their choices must then be approved by the camat, the government head of the district. The camat is the one immediately responsible for implementing national programs and policies within the district. Then the kepala kampung is responsible for these programs and policies on the village level.

For working on village projects, the headman has divided the village of Dombu into several work groups, or kolompo (from Indonesian kelompok). If the road needs work or buildings such as a village meeting hall, bantaya, need to be built, one or more of the five kolompo of Dombu men (roughly 60 in all) may be called on for community labour. The men in the west half of the village are divided into two groups, as are the men in the east half. A fifth group consists

of the men who live in the approximate centre of Dombu. Each of the group leaders, chosen by the kepala kampung, lives in close proximity to the other ten or eleven men in his group. Each group then works on the part of the project that is assigned to it.

1.4 Madika, traditional ruler

Another aspect of local level political organisation at Dombu is the continuing influence of the madika, the indigenous sovereign or traditional ruler. For two or three hundred years, there has been a succession of madika in the Da'a area. Traditionally, the madika with sovereignty over the most Da'a villages has lived in the village of Dombu. During the time of Dutch rule in Indonesia, the general Dutch policy was to rule through the existing political structures. Thus, until Indonesia's independence in 1945, they administered through the madika at Dombu. Following independence and the establishment of Indonesia's national government, the madika began to function as the kepala kampung within the Indonesian government structure.

In addition to these government functions the madika serves as the traditional head of a substantial section of the Da'a people. The duties of the madika in this capacity are basically three: 1) settling any disputes in the Da'a area under his influence that could not be resolved on the village level by the kepala kampungs; 2) witnessing various ceremonies of villages in the area relating to marriage, exchange of bridewealth, death, and other traditional junctures; and 3) presiding as head of the traditional customs such as the potamba, fertility rite performed to ensure good crops.

The current madika, named Lagurante, still hears cases, performs ceremonies and in general fills the role of madika. However as he is now over 80 years old the next in line for succession to madika, Latu, is beginning to take over more and more of the duties of madika. Latu is Lagurante's nephew, his only sister's son. Normally the line of succession would be to the son of the madika. However Lagurante's oldest son died some years ago and his other sons are quite young. Hence the succession went to Latu, his nephew. The actual decision as to who will be the next madika is made at a gathering of the key elders of the villages that centre around Dombu. They agreed that Latu would be the next madika. He is now already beginning to carry out the functions of madika under the guidance and advice of Lagurante. In 1981 Lagurante retired as kepala kampung and Latu was chosen for that position. Thus one can see that the madika has been incorporated into the Indonesian government structure and continues to be a signification part of Da'a social organisation.

1.5 Livelihood

The Da'a people are farmers and grow a variety of crops, including sweet potatoes, taro, cassava, corn and rice as staples. Dry rice and some wet rice are grown in the Pakawa region and the areas west of Dombu. In the northern villages near Dombu although rice is often eaten it must be bought in Palu or from other Da'a villages where dry-field rice is more abundantly grown. In the far western and more lowland villages sago is also eaten. Vegetable supplements include tomatoes; squash; red kidney beans; ferns; bamboo shoots; leaves of taro, cassava, sweet potatoes and squash; and occasionally white potatoes, although most of these are taken to market and sold. Fruits that are seasonally

available are durian, lemons, jackfruit, pomelos, langsat, rose-apples, bananas, mangoes and sometimes pineapple. The main cash crops are coffee, cloves and fruit in season.

As for livestock the Da'a raise chickens, pigs, goats, some sheep, and cattle. Cattle are used for field work such as ploughing and are not primarily raised for beef. The Da'a also hunt birds, deer, monkeys, lizards and wild pigs when available.

1.6 Feasts

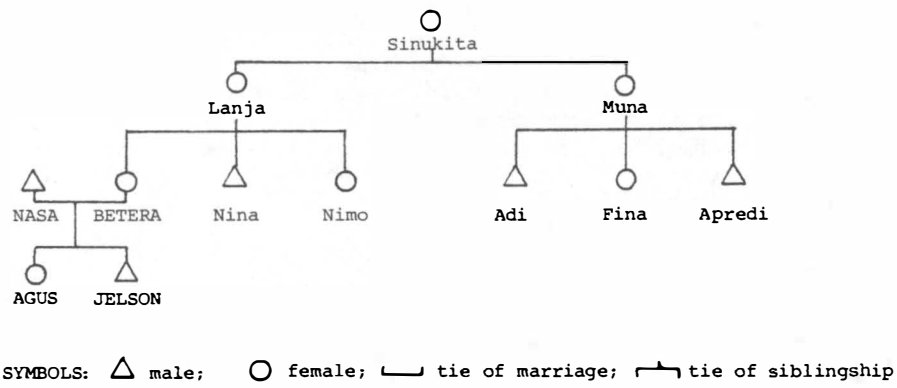
Most occasions of a major festive nature among the Da'a involve commensality, eating together. On such occasions rice and pork are the main foods, although sometimes chicken is also served. Feasts are held to celebrate: 1) the finishing of a new house; 2) birthday parties; 3) weddings; 4) three ceremonies associated with the remembrance of someone who has died (three days, forty days, and sometimes one hundred days following the death of someone in the Christian villages); 5) each of the four different occasions when the bridewealth is given; and 6) Christmas and New Year's Day - in those villages that are Christian.

1.7 Households and nuclear families

Da'a families usually have two houses. Beside the house they have within the village itself, most people also have a field hut near their gardens. If their gardens are situated far from the village, they may spend considerable time living there instead of returning to the village each night, hence the need for a field hut in addition to the village house.

Most Da'a households consist of nuclear families or modified nuclear families. The nuclear family includes only parents and their children. Modified nuclear families include others beside the nuclear family, such as a widowed parent and any unmarried siblings of the parents. It is quite common to find a modified nuclear family such as parents living with their children's family. One example of a large modified nuclear family observed at Dombu sheltered twelve individuals under one roof. The following diagram shows their kinship relationships:

Figure 1: Modified nuclear family



In this diagram, the names in capital letters represent the nuclear family: Nasa, his wife Betera, and their children Agus and Jelson. The head of this whole household is Nasa, since he is the only married man in this modified nuclear family. When he married Betera he assumed the responsibility for the three widows of Betera's family and their unmarried children. With Betera, her grandmother, her mother and aunt, and her children all part of this household, four generations are represented in this modified nuclear family.

Having discussed some of the basic features of Da'a social organisation, we turn now to examine in some detail the Da'a kinship terms.

2. KINSHIP TERMS

The Da'a kinship terminology is basically of the Hawaiian (or generational) system, which equates all cousins with siblings. It is also partially of the Eskimo system in that it distinguishes in the first ascending and descending generations between father, mother, uncle and aunt, and between child and nephew/niece (Schusky 1965:19).

2.1 Consanguineal (filial) kinship terms

Da'a consanguineal kinship terms are presented in Figure 2 (see also Acciaioli n.d.). These terms may be modified by the terms langgai *male*, and besi *female* to distinguish sex. The only exceptions are the four terms that already distinguish sex, that is father, mother, uncle and aunt.

2.1.1 Grandkinsmen terms

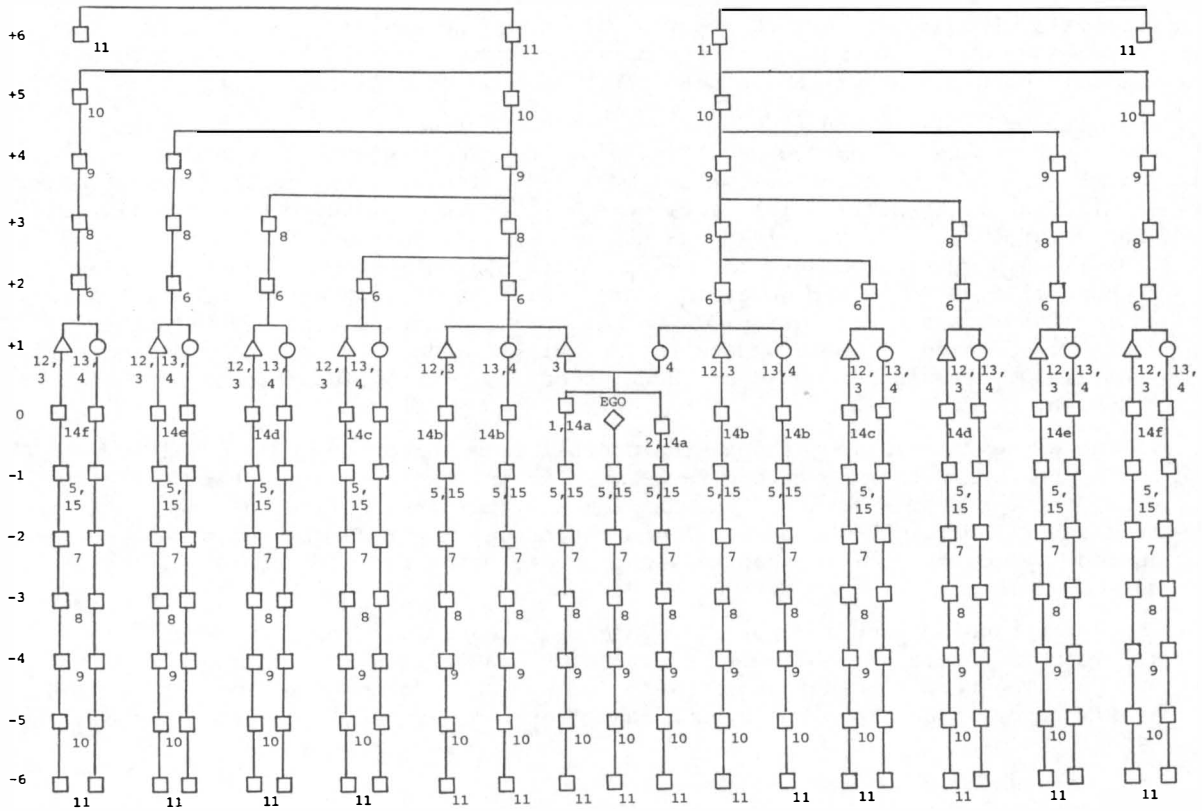
There are five reciprocal grandkinsman terms from the third generation (ascending and descending) to the sixth generation. For example, ego's great-grandparent and great-grandchild are both called lembau. Lembau is the term for third generation (ascending and descending). Panjedo is the term for all the fourth generation (ascending and descending), tantoru is the term for the fifth generation, and eruna the term for the sixth generation. Neither relative age nor sex are distinguished by these terms. Each of these terms extends to all collateral kinsmen of that respective generation and to corresponding affinals, namely, to the spouses of grandkinsmen and to the grandkinsmen of ego's spouse.

Only two of the grandkinsmen terms do not fit the above pattern of being self-reciprocal, the terms for the second generation ascending and descending from ego. The term pue *grandparent* is not interchangeable or self-reciprocal with makumpu *grandchild*. Some have said makumpu may be used like pue for grandparent, but in practice makumpu is not heard being used for grandparent, only grandchild. Thus, the second generation (ascending and descending) is not self-reciprocal. Only the third through the sixth generations are self-reciprocal. Beyond the sixth ascending generation the term totu'a nggaolu *ancestors* (literally *elders of the former time*) is used.

2.1.2 Familial terms

Eight terms form a set of kin terms designating kinsmen of the parent and child generations. These terms are referred to as familial terms.

Figure 2: Sketch of Da'a consanguineal terms



KEY

1	totuaka
2	totua'i
3	uma
4	indo
5	ana, ngana
6	pue
7	makumpu
8	lembau
9	panjedo
10	tantoru
11	eruna
12	mangge, rapouma
13	pinutina, rapoindo
14	sampesuvu
14a	sampesuvu kotopuse
14b	sampesuvu sanggani
14c	sampesuvu ronggani
14d	sampesuvu tolunggani
14e	sampesuvu patanggani
14f	sampesuvu limanggani
15	pinuana

FOCAL DENOTATA

eSi	
ySi	
F	
M	
Ch	
PaPa(Si)	
ChCh	
ChChCh,PaPaPa(Si)	
ChChChCh,PaPaPaPa(Si)	
ChChChChCh,PaPaPaPaPa(Si)	
PaB	
PaZ	
Si,Co	
Si	
PaSiCh	
PaPaSiChCh	
PaPaPaSiChChCh	
PaPaPaPaSiChChChCh	
PaPaPaPaPaSiChChChChCh	
SiCh	

ABBREVIATIONS

e	elder
y	younger
Si	sibling
F	father
M	mother
Pa	parent
Z	sister
Ch	child
B	brother
Co	cousin

SYMBOLS

- ◇ ego
- △ male
- ○ female
- □ individual of either sex

- ⌐¬ tie of siblingship and common filiation
- ⌐¬ tie of siblingship in which the individual higher on the page is older

2.1.2.1 First ascending generation

Four familial terms denote kinsmen of the first ascending generation above ego: uma *father*, indo *mother*, mangge *uncle*, and pinutina *aunt*. These four terms distinguish sex, but not relative age. Father's older or younger sister and mother's older or younger sister are all designated by pinutina *aunt*. Mother's brother's wife and father's brother's wife are also pinutina. Similarly, the term mangge *uncle* extends to all father's and mother's brothers and all mother's sister's husbands and father's sister's husbands, regardless of age.

The terms uma *father* and indo *mother* may also be used to refer to uncle and aunt, respectively. Mangge *uncle* and pinutina *aunt* may extend beyond their primary referent to refer to all collateral kinsmen of the parents' generation. So all four of these familial terms mentioned above may extend to all collateral kinsmen of the first ascending generation. This is an illustration of how the Da'a kinship system combines the Hawaiian and Eskimo systems. It is Hawaiian in that all males in this generation are called uma *father* and all females are called indo *mother*. It is Eskimo in that one's father, uma is distinguished from uncle, mangge. One's uma cannot be called mangge. Similarly one's mother, indo, is distinguished from one's aunt, pinutina. One's indo cannot be called pinutina.

If ego wishes to distinguish his real father from the other males of his parent's generation the term ntoko *real*, must modify uma. Thus the term uma ntoko signifies *ego's true father*. In the same way, to distinguish one's real mother from other females of the parental generation one may refer to one's real mother as indo ntoko, or as indo mpeote. Indo mpeote means *the mother who gave birth to ego*.

The terms rapoindo and rapouma also denote *aunt* and *uncle* respectively. Rapoindo is interchangeable with pinutina and rapouma is interchangeable with mangge. The term rapoindo is the word for *mother* indo, prefixed by rapo-. The prefix rapo- in Da'a morphology can mean 'for the purpose of' as seen in the example below:

Rapo-kuya wawu etu? Rapo-susa.
PURP.-*what pig that* PURP.-*feast*
What is that pig for? For a feast.

When affixed to kin terms rapo- has the meaning of 'has the relationship ...'.

Rapo-kuya nggomi ante ia? Rapo-indo.
Rela.-*what you with her* Rela.-*mother*
What is your relationship with her? She has the relationship of mother.

Rapo-kuya nggomi ante ia? Rapo-mangge.
Rela.-*what you with him* Rela.-*uncle*
What is your relationship with him? He has the relationship of uncle.

Thus rapoindo is one way of saying that a person is in a relationship comparable to one's mother. And since one can call all females of the parental generation indo *mother*, the term rapoindo extends to all aunts. Similarly, one can call all uncles rapouma since they are in a relationship comparable to one's father.

To summarise, then, 'uncle' or 'aunt' may each be referred to by one of four terms. One's uncle is mangge, uma, rapomangge, or rapouma. One's aunt is pinutina, indo, rapopinutina, or rapoindo.

The familial terms of the first ascending generation cannot be extended to all of ego's spouse's kinsmen of the same generation. They may be extended to some

kinsmen, but not to all. See Figure 3 (sketch of Da'a affinal terms) for an illustration of further uses of the terms mangge *uncle* and pinutina *aunt*.

2.1.2.2 First descending generation

The reciprocal term to 'father' and 'mother' is ana/ngana *child*. These terms for child denote ego's offspring of either sex and extend collaterally to any kinsmen of the child's generation (first descending generation). They cannot be extended to child's spouse or spouse of any other first descending generation kinsmen. Ana/ngana likewise does not extend to one's stepchildren. There is a separate distinct term for stepchild, kamana. Ego's kamana is any child of ego's spouse from another marriage. (This term is found in Figure 3.)

The term pinuana *niece/nephew* is the reciprocal of the terms for 'uncle' and 'aunt'. It denotes the children of ego's siblings and can further be extended collaterally to include children of ego's cousins.

As noted earlier, age or sex are not distinguished for kinsmen of this generation. The terms langgai *male* and besi *female* may be added to ana/ngana or pinuana to distinguish between son or daughter and between nephew and niece.

2.1.3 Sibling and cousin terms

Two sibling kinship terms distinguish relative seniority of ego and siblings: totuaka *elder sibling* and totua'i *younger sibling*. These terms extend collaterally to any kinsmen of ego's generation but do not extend to all spouse's siblings and cousins.

Another term, sampesuwu, denotes any *sibling, cousin* without distinction of sex or relative seniority. Like the two terms above, sampesuwu extends collaterally to any kinsmen of ego's generation, thus denoting *cousin* (1st, 2nd, 3rd, etc.). By modifying the term sampesuwu with terms like sanggani *one time*, ronggani *two times*, tolunggani *three times*, etc., first, second, third cousins and so on are distinguished. For example, sampesuwu ronggani denotes *second cousin*. A term for true sibling is sampesuwu kotopuse, which means *sibling of the same womb*.

The term sampesuwu does not extend to all of spouse's siblings or cousins but does extend to a few. See Figure 3 for illustration of these extended uses of sampesuwu.

2.2 Affinal kinship terms

Da'a affinal terms are presented in Figure 3. Neither age nor sex is distinguished by any of these affinal terms. All of these terms may be modified by the words langgai *male* and besi *female* to distinguish sex.

2.2.1 Familial affinal terms

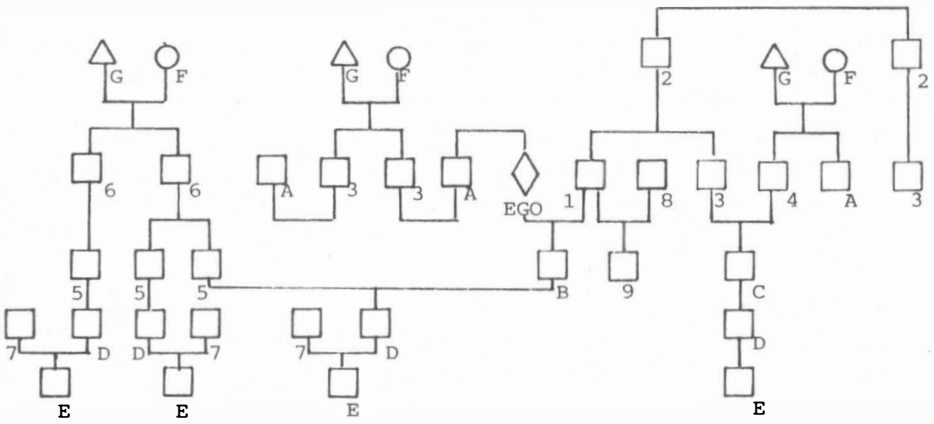
Three terms classify spouse's kinsmen or parent and child generation. Matu'a *parents-in-law* refers to parents of ego's spouse and their siblings and cousins.

The term sumbava refers to co-parents-in-law. The parents of ego's child-in-law are ego's sumbava. This term cannot be extended to all members of ego's child's

spouse's parent generation. Sumbava refers only to the relationship between the two sets of parents just mentioned.

Mania *child-in-law* denotes spouse of ego's child and is extended collaterally to siblings and cousins of ego's child's spouse (the child generation). A further usage of mania is seen in the following section.

Figure 3: Sketch of Da'a affinal terms



AFFINAL TERMS	FOCAL DENOTATA	CONSANGUINEAL TERMS USED FOR RELATIVES CONNECTED BY MARRIAGE
1 rongo	Sp	A sampesuwu
2 matu'a	SpPa(Si)	B ana, ngana
3 era	SiSp(Si)	C pinuana
4 lago	SpSiSp	D makumpu
5 mania	ChSp(Si)	E lembau
6 sumbava	ChSpPa	F pinutina, rapoindo
7 mania leni	ChChSp	G mangge, rapouma
8 samarue	SpSp	
9 kamana	SpCh	

ABBREVIATIONS

Sp spouse
Pa parent
Si sibling
Ch child

SYMBOLS

△ male

○ female

□ individual of either sex (but an individual tied to another by a tie of marriage must be of the opposite sex to that of the individual to whom he is tied)

⌴ tie of marriage

⊢ tie of siblingship

2.2.2 Term for grandchild's spouse

Mania may also be modified by the term leni *cold*. Mania leni refers to the spouse of ego's grandchild, which is one generation removed from child-in-law. The two words taken together seem to mean one like a mania *child-in-law* but a bit 'colder' or farther removed, mania leni.

2.2.3 Sibling-in-law terms

Two terms, era and lago, refer to the affinal kinsmen of ego's spouse's generation.

All siblings and cousins of ego's spouse are era *sibling-in-law*. All spouses of ego's own siblings and cousins are also era. An extended use of the term era was found in the Pakawa region. There era also includes the siblings and cousins of the spouses of ego's own siblings and cousins. That is the siblings and cousins of the siblings-in-law ego has on ego's side of the family, not on ego's spouse's side (Acciaioli n.d.:7).

Lago *spouse of sibling-in-law* is one who marries spouse's siblings or cousins. This term refers to spouse's sibling's spouse, but not to sibling's spouse's sibling.

2.2.4 Spouse terms

The term of reference for spouse is rongo *husband/wife*. Samarue *co-wife* is used between two or more wives of the same man. In the Da'a area, no co-husbands ever occur. This is considered unacceptable, contrary to Da'a traditional law. Thus even though samarue may not have an innate sex distinction, the connotation is that of a relationship between two or more wives. One further term relating to spouse is tomale *ex-spouse*, which refers to a spouse from whom one has been divorced.

Having examined the Da'a kinship terminology, we will now discuss behaviour patterns connected with these terms.

3. KINSHIP BEHAVIOUR

Da'a kinship relationships involve a sharing of goods and services. We now examine some key relationships and the behaviour patterns implicit in these.

3.1 Parent-child relationship

Parents are expected to provide for their children's physical needs: food, clothing, and shelter. Parents also teach their children certain skills and respectable behaviour. The father and mother are both responsible for disciplining their children, equally sharing the task. If a parent is not obeyed, he does not usually force his children to do anything against their will, although shouts or threats may show the parent's anger. Threats are not usually carried out.

Sometimes parent's parents or siblings will care for the children in the parent's absence. During that time they become the authority figures, assuming the responsibilities of the parents.

One of the responsibilities of parents is in helping arrange their children's marriages. In times past parents actually arranged their children's marriages. Now, however, children may choose their own marriage partners. Parents are still very much involved with arranging the details of the marriage. Included in this is the bridewealth exchange. This will be further discussed in more detail in section 4.4 of this paper.

Children are expected to help their parents in their gardens and also at home. Children share in the work of hoeing in the gardens, carrying water, and daughters will help with cooking as well. Children are also responsible for caring for their parents in old age.

3.2 Sibling relationship

Older siblings will take responsibility for younger siblings when parents are working or when younger siblings are not in the proximity of their parents. It is very common to see an older brother or sister carrying the younger sibling on his or her back in a sarong.

As siblings grow older and have their own families, they often ask for assistance from each other. If one is going to have a party he may ask his other siblings to help with the food preparations, such as providing cooked rice.

After the parents are dead, the oldest brother becomes the head of the family in regard to the other siblings. If one of the brothers-in-law still has to finish giving part of the bridewealth, the oldest brother will receive it in the absence of his sister's parents.

3.3 Cousin relationship

Cousins do not have specific obligations to each other, but they are each other's helpers. In the case of one cousin having a feast, such as a birthday party, the other cousins, especially the first cousins, and the siblings (as noted above) will help. They are usually asked to prepare rice for the feast, but they are also asked to join in the fun by attending the feast.

The cousin relationship is a close one. As a result of the common uxorilocal residence, where the husband lives with the wife's family, cousins, especially female cousins, usually live near each other. (See section 3.5 on affinal relationships for more on residence patterns.) A cousin is often chosen as a marriage partner, too. In the village of Dombu, out of a total of approximately 60 marriages, there are six known instances of first-cousin marriages, and there are several more instances of second, third and fourth-cousin marriages. (See section 4.2 on possible marriage partners for a discussion of which cousins one may marry.)

3.4 Aunt-nephew/niece relationship

The aunt-nephew relationship is also a close one. It is so close that one may not marry one's aunt. If one unintentionally does this, a special ceremony called karumpita must be performed to cut the ties of this close relationship. Karumpita is the payment of one pig to the wife's family. This is in addition to the bridewealth. After the pig is given, it is cut in half. Half is given to the husband's family and half is kept by the wife's family. When the pig is eaten, the husband eats with his wife's family and partakes of their half. The wife eats with her husband's family partaking of their half. This signifies that the close family relationship has been cut. The marriage is then considered acceptable, and thus nobody will get sick from having committed this silaka *wrong, sin*, as marrying one's aunt or nephew/niece is considered.

A ceremony called rapolabu must also be observed if one marries one's aunt or one's nephew/niece. This ceremony involves the killing of a cat, a dog and sometimes a goat. These are sacrificed and thrown into a river, signifying that the silaka *sin, wrong* has been carried away. This ceremony is performed to ensure that the same silaka will not occur later in that family.

The rapolabu ceremony was noted by Albert C. Kruyt in his book De West Toradja's op Midden Celebes (1938). In this book he makes the following comments about rapolabu (approximate English translation from the Dutch):

> An elder binds a little dog, a little pig, a cat and a little goat to a piece of banana stalk. Hair of the two guilty is added. He stands at the riverside and calls, 'This is the calamity (silaka, caused by incest) of A and B, for which we will kill the animals, that no evil may proceed from it.' He cuts the animals with one stroke and throws them in the river.

Ego's aunt is in a close relationship to him. The aunt that is ego's mother's sister is even closer to him than his other aunts. That aunt is so close that it is considered wrong to marry her children. Those children are in the same category as ego's siblings in that he may not marry them. If it does happen that ego marries the children of his mother's sister, the karumpita ceremony must be carried out.

In the case of orphans, mother's sister is the most likely relative to take over the responsibility for raising the child. One such relationship is shown by the example of a child named Piro being adopted by his mother's sister, Piro's parents died when he was still young so his mother's sister, Dena, took responsibility for him and adopted him as her own. Dena is known by the teknonym indo Piro *mother of Piro*. Another child, Rientoe, was also adopted by her mother's sister. Several other cases of nephews and nieces adopted by their aunts have been noted in the village of Dombu.

3.5 Affinal relationships

Three salient aspects of affinal relationships involve service to the bride's parents, uxorilocal residence patterns and name avoidance. These three will be discussed in turn.

3.5.1 Service to the bride's parents

After marriage a son-in-law has an obligation to offer his services to his new parents-in-law, in addition to the bridewealth he must give. For example, he is expected to help in his father-in-law's fields or help him with building when his father-in-law builds a new house. In whatever project his parents-in-law need help, he is expected to assist.

3.5.2 Uxorilocal residence

Closely associated with service to bride's parents is the pattern of uxorilocal residence, ego living with or near his wife's parents. The amount of time that a son-in-law must live near his wife's family is determined by his parents-in-law. The author observed in the village of Dombu that after the obligation of the son-in-law has been met, he may choose to move back near his own family. But the norm for a length of time immediately following marriage is that of uxorilocal residence.

The norm in the village of Dombu is for ego to begin his married life living with the bride's family. There are exceptions to this but they are definitely in the minority. We will first discuss one group of marriages in Dombu which exemplify the norm and then look at some of the exceptions.

Figure 4 shows the residence patterns in the village of Dombu. Figure 5 diagrams the relationships in one of the eight residence groups in the village. Each of these eight residence groups consists of siblings and/or first cousins living in close proximity to each other.

The families circled by the dashed line in Figure 4 make up one residence group which consists of two families that intermarried. Looking at the family tree in Figure 5 one can see that Taninono's daughter Sandikita, married Yunde's son, Jearante. With the exception of one daughter and her husband who moved down to a Da'a resettlement project, Jearante and Sandikita's daughters and their husbands live close to Jearante's house.

Jearante's brother, Laijama, married Yaradama and went to live with Yaradama's family. Three of Laijama's and Yaradama's four daughters and husbands began their married life living in close proximity to Laijama and Yaradama. One of those three families, that of Namapalu and Bombe, has just recently moved back to live near Namapalu's family. Their former and present homes are shown on the village map. Namapalu finished giving all the required bridewealth to Bombe's family this year. Now with Laijama dead and Yaradama often living with one of her other daughters, Siti or Beti, Namapalu is free to move. He is now living close to his own parents and sister. Thus we can see that Namapalu and Bombe followed the norm of an initial extended time residing in close proximity to Bombe's parents, even though they are now living in another part of the village.

Laijama's three sons are all living near their wives' families following the pattern of uxorilocal residence. Now, having seen examples of the normal patterns of residence, let us examine some cases of couples not living near the wife's family.

In the residence group mentioned above we see three exceptions to the normal pattern. Two of these exceptions are Atia and Nue, Jearante's daughter and son-in-law, and Henipia and Laigunu, Laijama's daughter and son-in-law. Atia and Nue are the couple mentioned earlier who have moved down to a resettlement

Figure 4: Residence groups in Dombu

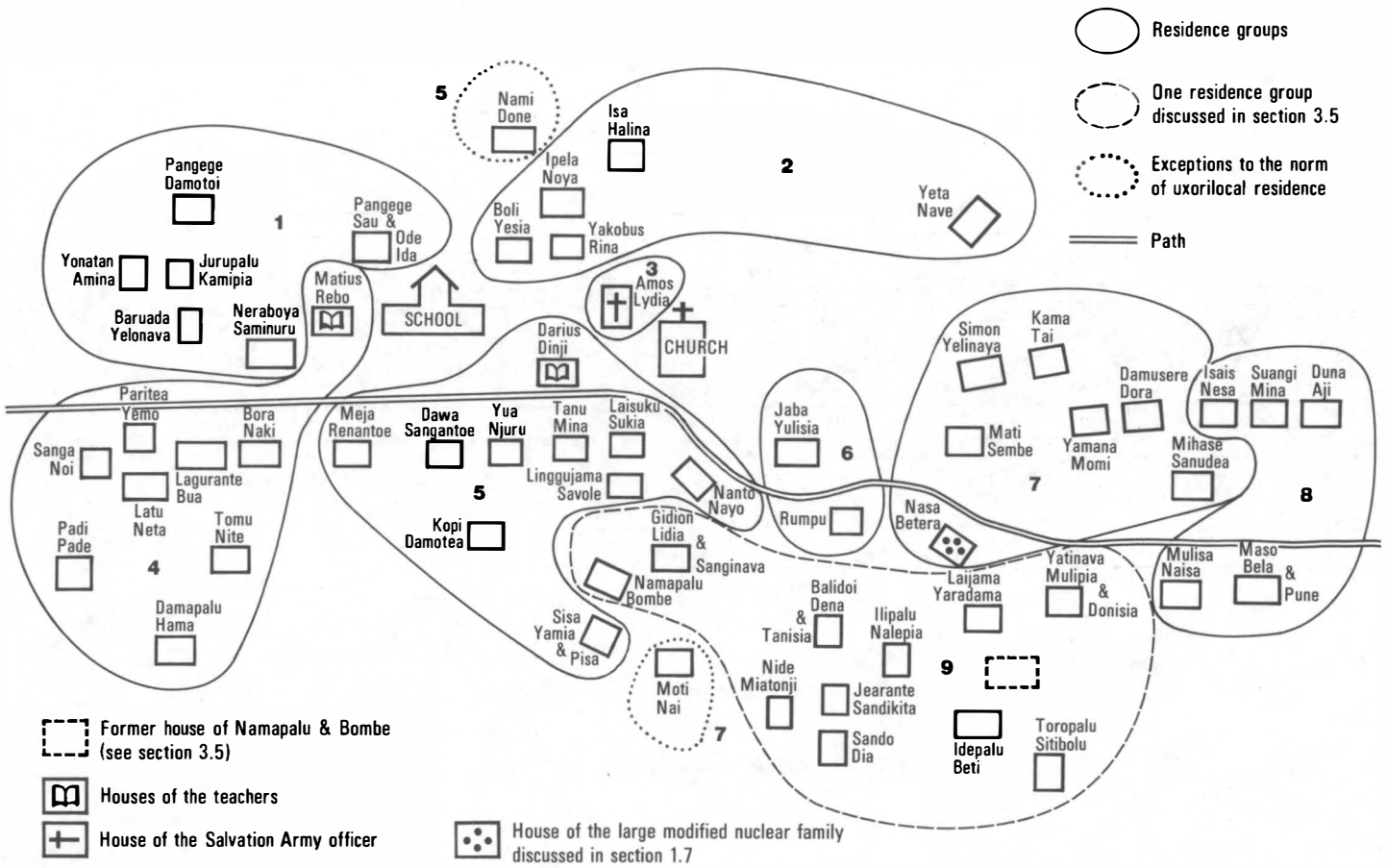
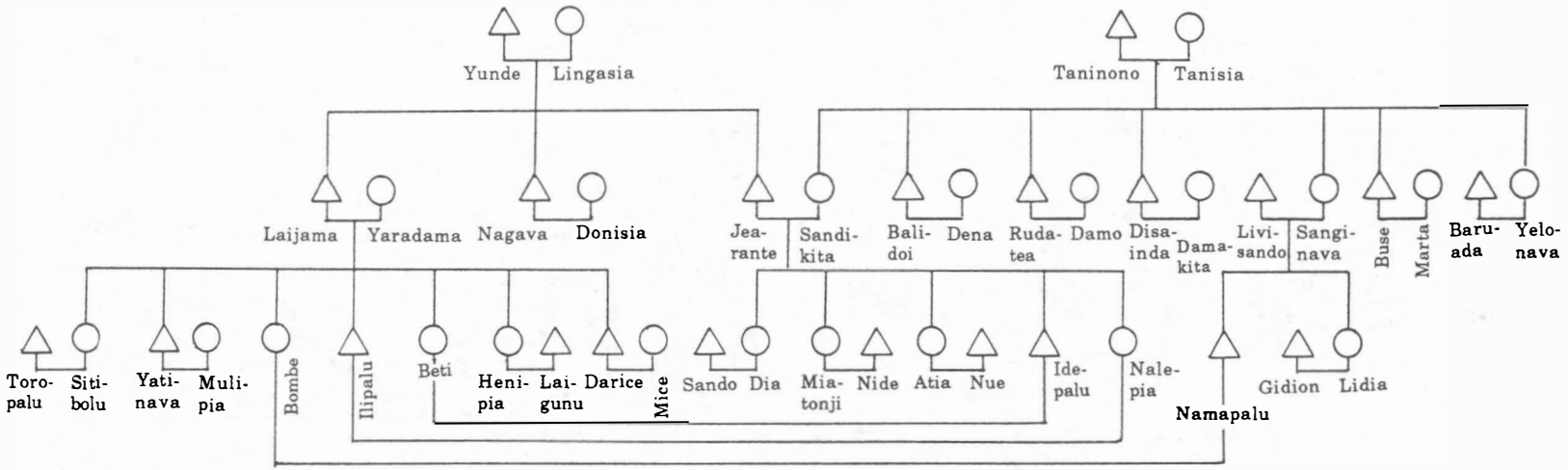


Figure 5: Family tree of one residence group



SYMBOLS: △ male; ○ female; ⎽⎼ tie of marriage; ⌐¬ tie of siblingship

project. Henipia and Laigunu live near Laigunu's family in the village of Bolobia about three hours walk away. The reason why these couples are living in other villages is that the husbands had land there. The third exception to the normal pattern is Balidoi and his wife Dena. Balidoi, Sandikita's brother, married Dena who is from the village of Mbuwu, a two day walk from Dombu. If he had followed the norm they would be living in Mbuwu. The reason they are living here at Dombu is that Dena's immediate family, parents and siblings, are all dead. So she has come to live with her husband's family in Dombu.

Looking now at the rest of the village we notice that the same pattern of uxorilocal residence is found. Of approximately 60 married men in Dombu, there are 13 men who originate from other villages in the Da'a area. These men have married women from Dombu and live near their wives' families. In addition to these instances, men originally from Dombu who married women from Dombu now live near their wives' families too.

Two exceptions to the norm involve school teachers. Matius, head of the school in Dombu, married the madika's daughter, Rebo. But instead of living near the madika, he lives right beside the school. Another teacher, Ode, married a girl from Panesibaja, two and one half hours' walk from Dombu. He is a teacher at the Junior High School (SMP) in Dombu and hence lives in Dombu near the school. A paying job seems to override the obligation to reside near one's wife's family. The bridewealth is still the same amount whether living near the parents-in-law or not.

3.5.3 Name avoidance

Involved with the relationship of matu'a *parent-in-law*, is a name taboo. Ego may not say his parents-in-law's names nor the name of anyone else in the matu'a relationship with ego, such as the siblings of ego's parents-in-law. Generally people use teknonyms (father of first child, mother of first child) in referring to their matu'a. Name avoidance is also practiced with the name of the madika and the names of certain other well-known ancestors. This practice of name avoidance among the Da'a as in other societies, is a behaviour showing respect (Shusky 1965:61).

4. MARRIAGE

In this section on marriage among the Da'a we will examine the following topics: arranging the marriage, possible marriage partners, the wedding ceremony, bridewealth, elopement, multiple wives, extra-marital relations, and the ending of the marriage relationship.

4.1 Arranging the marriage

Before schools were established in the Da'a area and people began to learn to write, marriages were arranged by the parents. In more recent times the pattern has shifted to one in which the young people have more say in choosing a mate.

The former pattern was for the boy's mother to take betel nut (manggeni sambulu) to the prospective bride's parents. If the marriage was acceptable to the girl's family, they would receive the betel nut, signalling their agreement to the proposed marriage.

At present the pattern is for a young man to choose the bride he wants on the basis of personal attraction. He initiates the marriage process by writing the girl a letter indicating his intentions. If the girl does not like him or does not want to marry him, she just does not answer the letter. If on the other hand she decides she likes the young man and feels he is of good character, then she indicates her interest by writing a letter back. The couple may then take the letters to the girl's father and the boy's father. If the two fathers agree to the union, the couple is considered engaged and the wedding is announced. Then the parents, the leader of the church, the kepala kampung, and in some cases the madika get together to arrange the timing for the wedding. At this point discussions of the bridewealth to be exchanged take place. The two families, the kepala kampung and sometimes the madika discuss what the bridewealth will be. (See section 4.4 for a full discussion of bridewealth.)

4.2 Possible marriage partners

It is acceptable to marry anyone except a true sibling, an uncle or aunt, a nephew or niece, or a first cousin who is a child of one's mother's sister. All other first cousins may marry and there are many examples of this. There are also marriages to persons from outside a person's original village, but the majority of marriages are to people from one's own village. This means most marriages are to a relative, especially to a cousin, since most villages are made up of one's relatives.

Marrying one's uncle, aunt, nephew or niece results in having to pay the highest possible fine to the wife's father, since this is considered silaka *sin, wrong*. The fine is usually an extra seven pigs and 12 extra chickens in addition to what the parents want for bridewealth. If a person marries an uncle, aunt, nephew or niece without knowing about the closeness and it later is discovered, the rapolabu and karumpita ceremonies must be performed. (See section 3.4 for a discussion of these ceremonies.)

In the case of marrying the child of mother's sister the karumpita ceremony must be performed. While the karumpita and rapolabu ceremonies are still practiced in the Da'a area, there are more and more cases now where they have been ignored and were not performed.

It is also of interest to note that the children of noble line are expected to marry children of other madika. This results in many marriages between close relatives of the madika families. This is in part motivated by a desire to keep the wealth within the family. The Da'a have a phrase describing this pattern. Nipo'u mpotowu means *to be tied together like sugarcane*. Like sugarcane is tied up so it will not disperse in all directions, so madika marry madika in order that the family wealth will not dissipate.

4.3 The wedding ceremony

The wedding ceremony in the Da'a area is a relatively new phenomenon, as it has been introduced by the church in the area. There have been churches in some Da'a villages for more than a generation, while in others it has been only ten years or so, and in still other villages there are as yet no churches. In times past before the church was established in any villages, and even now in those villages where there is as yet no church a couple was considered formally married following the panggoni bau ceremony, the first of the bridewealth exchanges.

The panggoni bau *the eating of meat*, involves feasting together and the formal giving of the first instalment of the bridewealth. This eating together is felt to assure a strong marriage.

In villages where there have been schools and churches for some time most couples have a civil service as well as a church ceremony. The civil service, catatan sipil in Indonesian, is the official marriage ceremony recognised by the Indonesian government and which must be performed to obtain a marriage certificate (surat nikah in Indonesian). In the Da'a area there are three or four Salvation Army officers who have been given authority from the government to perform this civil service.

The wedding ceremony in the Salvation Army churches generally runs as follows: the singing of hymns, a short sermon on marriage and how husbands and wives should treat each other, and a short ceremony where the bride and groom join hands and promise to live faithfully together, honouring, helping and caring for each other. Then the couple is pronounced married and the service closed with prayer. It is not unusual for more than one couple to be married at the same time.

The general pattern is following the church ceremony to have the panggoni bau feast at which the male guests and the couple share a meal together. This finalises the wedding ceremony.

4.4 Bridewealth

The bridewealth consists of four parts, each given at a different occasion. The panggoni bau is given at the time of the wedding. The potapu is usually given when the wife is seven months pregnant with the first child. The potosu manu is given when the first child is about a year old, and the puki is given at a later date when the children are older. This last payment does not have a specific time for bestowal as do the other three.

The panggoni bau, literally *the eating of meat*, is usually the payment of 12 or 15 chickens and one pig. The potapu varies only slightly from family to family. It always involves the giving of a knife and a china plate, called pingga. Other items, such as necklaces may be added. For example, the potapu of the madika's daughter was one knife, one china plate and four necklaces. These necklaces can be quite expensive. The potosu manu, literally *the stabbing of a chicken*, varies from family to family. It always involves chickens, but various other items are also given. One example is the potosu manu given by a man named Gidion. His potosu manu payment was 12 chickens, one antique sword, two brass trays (one small and one large), seven bracelets and three necklaces. In another family the potosu manu was seven chickens, seven brass trays, one machete and one special cloth called a mesa. This is likely kain Rongkong originating from the northern part of South Sulawesi province. These mesa have been handed down from generation to generation in the Da'a area.

The potosu manu ceremony involves killing a chicken by stabbing it with a small knife made from bamboo. After the chicken is dead the heart and gall bladder are examined. If the heart and gall bladder are healthy and firm this is considered an omen that the child will be strong. If the heart and gall bladder are not firm, more chickens are stabbed and examined until a good heart and gall bladder are found.

The last bridewealth payment, the puki, includes pigs, brass trays, and often a variety of other items, such as a rooster, a hen and sometimes china plates,

pingga. One man indicated that if he did not have all of the brass trays needed, he could give a certain amount of white china plates instead of some of the trays. (Five china plates is the equivalent of one brass tray.) The number of children one has at the time he gives the puki can reduce the amount of puki given. For example, for each son a man has he can subtract one brass tray from the puki payment, and for each daughter he can subtract two trays. If he has a son and a daughter he subtracts three trays from the puki and so on. With many children, he may not give any brass trays at all.

The bridewealth payments are different for different families. The pattern followed is that the same bridewealth will be given for all the sisters in one family. And the bridewealth given for these sisters will be the same as what was given for their mother. So the amount of bridewealth given follows what was given for the women in the bride's family line. In Dombu, there are two patterns which govern the amount of bridewealth; one being a pattern of sevens, ada papitu, and the other a pattern of nines, ada sasio. If the bride has a pattern of sevens in her family line, the groom would pay in amounts of seven, such as seven brass trays, seven chickens, or seven bracelets. If there is a pattern of nines in the bride's family line, the groom would pay in amounts of nines; nine china plates or nine brass trays, etc. Thus the pattern of sevens or nines is passed down from one generation to another. (See appendix for specific examples of bridewealth exchanged.)

The bridewealth exchange can take place at a number of different places: in the village meeting hall, bantaya, the bride's family house or the groom's family house. The panggoni bau is often given at the village meeting hall with the madika, the couple's parents, the village leaders, and many other people present. The potapu is usually given with a feast at the man's house, while the potosu manu and puki are usually given with a feast at the woman's house. On these last three occasions usually just the couple's families are present. In the event that the woman's parents are no longer living, the woman's oldest brother will be the one to accept the bridewealth payment.

Much of the bridewealth consists of items available for sale at the market. Others are passed down from generation to generation in families. If the groom does not have sufficient money for these items, or cannot get certain needed articles, he can ask help from his parents, siblings, uncles and aunts.

4.5 Elopement

In many societies elopement is an acceptable way to begin marriage. In the Da'a area this is not considered an acceptable form of behaviour. If a couple should run off to get married, the parents would follow them and find them. In the end some payment would have to be made, perhaps in the form of a heavy fine, if not the full bridewealth. This illustrates that in Da'a society marriage does not just involve a couple, but both families.

4.6 Multiple wives

Among the Da'a it is acceptable to have more than one wife, though it is not very common now. In times past, two, three and even up to seven wives of one man have been noted. In the case of one man with seven wives, the wives were located in several different villages spread out over quite a distance. Having

more than one wife involves quite an expense since for each the full bridewealth has to be paid. In addition to that is the responsibility for providing food and shelter for the wives and their children. Nowadays those two factors are given as reasons for not having more than one wife. Another reason is that the church does not endorse having more than one wife, although technically this is possible under Indonesian law in unusual circumstances, such as the wife being unable to bear children or terminal illness. In cases of more than one wife only one wife is formally married with full civil service and, in areas where there are churches, also a church wedding. Successive wives would be married in the traditional way, with only the exchange of bridewealth making the marriage official.

4.7 Extra-marital relations

In the Da'a area not all extra-marital relationships are considered adultery. In the case of a married man having sexual relations with an unmarried woman, this is not considered adultery. Such relationships may result in a man taking a second wife. Similarly, if a married woman has sexual relations with an unmarried man this is not considered adultery.

What is considered adultery is for a married man or woman to have sexual relations with another person's spouse. This is considered by many Da'a to be one of the most heinous sins. Since this adulterous relationship violates the marriage relationship, those involved in it must pay restitution.

If a married man commits adultery with another man's wife, he must normally pay to the woman's husband three brass trays and one pig. If a woman commits adultery and wants to marry her paramour all the bridewealth must be returned to her husband. Then the woman's possessions become the property of her first husband. (See section 4.8 for further discussion on such restitution.)

4.8 Ending the marriage relationship

There are two basic ways in which a marriage relationship can come to an end: through death of either spouse and through divorce. Both of these involve a formal breaking of the marriage tie called sompo. Without this, remarriage is not permitted according to traditional Da'a law.

In the case of a spouse dying, the effect of the sompo is to ensure that one's obligations to one's spouse's family are fulfilled. Until this is done, the surviving spouse is not free to remarry. If the wife dies, the man must pay any remaining bridewealth payments and one extra pig. Then he may remarry.

If the husband dies, his family is responsible for completing payment of the remaining unpaid bridewealth to the widow's family. Then the woman is free to remarry.

Some common causes of divorce among Da'a are: 1) the wife or wife's father demanding more of the husband than he feels able to handle or is willing to give; 2) either or both partners feeling not able to handle the responsibility of being married (this is especially true of those marrying very young); 3) misunderstandings or arguments causing such a rift that the marriage falls apart; and 4) an adulterous relationship on the part of one's spouse.

If the woman initiates the divorce, no payment is made by the man. The woman must pay back any bridewealth that hte man has paid her family. This is referred to as rasupi bau *returning the bridewealth* (literally *putting out of the meat*).

If the man initiates the divorce, he must pay off any remaining bridewealth payments. In addition, if his wife has a small child under one year old, two further payments are required. The first payment loka tasa, literally *ripe banana* is three brass trays and one pig. He must pay this fine because he is leaving a small child behind. The first solid food given a small child is ripe bananas, hence the name loka tasa.

The second payment is three brass trays and one pig. This payment is to mompakaboya indo *make fat the mother*. The effect of these extra payments is to provide support for the mother being left with small children to care for. If the children are over one year of age, these two extra payments are not required, only the paying off of any remaining bridewealth payments.

5. SUMMARY

In this study of Da'a kinship and marriage we have noted that the Da'a kinship system is a combination of the Hawaiian and Eskimo systems. Only in the first ascending and descending generations are kinsmen distinguished. In all other generations terms extend bilaterally.

In Da'a kinship behaviour ego's relationship with his cousins is particularly important. Ego will often marry a cousin, and female cousins normally live in close proximity to one another due to uxorilocal residence. Another relationship of particular note is that of a son-in-law to his parents-in-law. He becomes a member of his wife's family.

The Da'a believe that the bridewealth exchange strengthens a marriage. Therefore, the traditional bridewealth exchange remains an integral part of every proper Da'a marriage.

APPENDIX: Examples of bridewealth exchanged

The following is a record of the actual bridewealth exchanged in eight marriages in the village of Dombu.

LAGURANTE (madika)-LARAKITA		BEN-YANA (madika's daughter)
panggoni	12 chickens	12 chickens
bau	2 pigs	1 pig
potapu	1 china plate	1 china plate
	1 knife	1 knife
	3 necklaces	4 necklaces
potosu	7 chickens	
manu	1 sword	
	1 Rongkong cloth (mesa)	None given
	1 spear	
	7 bracelets	
	7 tubumputi plates	

LAGURANTE-LARAKITA (cont'd)		BEN-YANA (cont'd)
puki	1 pig	1 pig
	1 hen	1 hen
	1 rooster	1 rooster
	7 brass trays (dula) (not paid, cancelled by three daughters and one son)	7 brass trays

NOTE: Yana is the madika's daughter by his second wife, Bua. Hence, the bride-wealth that Ben gave to Yana's family is the same as Lagurante gave to Bua's family.

NAMAPALU-BOMBE		TORUPALU-SITIBOLU (Bombe's sister)
panggoni	12 chickens	12 chickens
bau	2 pigs	2 pigs
potapu	1 china plate	1 china plate
	1 knife	1 knife
potosu	7 chickens	7 chickens
manu	7 china plates	7 china plates
	36 wukubau plates	36 wukubau plates
puki	1 pig	1 pig
	1 hen	1 hen
	1 rooster	1 rooster
	7 brass trays	7 brass trays

DESANDO-NENA		NASA-BETERA
panggoni	15 chickens	12 chickens
bau	1 pig	1 pig
potapu	1 china plate	2 china plates
	1 knife	1 knife
	3 necklaces	3 necklaces
potosu	15 chickens	7 chickens
manu	1 sword	1 machete
	1 mesa	1 mesa
	1 spear	7 brass trays
	7 bracelets	
	1 large necklace	
	7 china plates	
puki	3 pigs	2 pigs
	1 hen	1 hen
	1 rooster	1 rooster
	7 brass trays	7 brass trays
	7 china plates	7 china plates

SISA-YAMIA		GIDION-LIDIA
panggoni	15 chickens	12 chickens
bau	1 pig	1 pig
potapu	9 tubumputi plates	1 china plate
	1 knife	1 knife
	3 necklaces	
potosu	15 chickens	12 chickens
manu	1 sword	1 sword
	1 mesa	7 bracelets
	1 spear	3 necklaces
	9 bracelets	2 brass trays
puki	1 pig	1 pig
	1 hen	1 hen
	1 rooster	1 rooster
	9 brass trays	7 brass trays
	90 china plates	

NOTES

[1]The Da'a (Pakawa, Pekawa) people speak Da'a, one of at least seven dialects of Kaili, an Austronesian language spoken in Central Sulawesi by approximately 300,000 speakers (Wumbu 1973, Barr, Barr and Salombe 1979). Research for this paper was carried out under the auspices of the Cooperative Program between Hasanuddin University and the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Dombu village, Marawola District from July 1979 to November 1981, and January 1983 to September 1983. The author wants to express thanks to Greg Acciaioli, Lloyd Peckham, Tim Friberg and Barbara Friberg for their helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

[2]Note that in Central Sulawesi we do not find the clear distinction of kepala desa and kepala kampung delineated elsewhere (e.g. South Sulawesi).

[3]Note that the name of the leader of this level is the same as the name of the level itself.

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FOCUS AND MOOD IN DA'A DISCOURSE

Donald F. Barr

1. INTRODUCTION

Da'a (Pakawa),[1] an Austronesian (AN) language spoken in Central Sulawesi, Indonesia, has a number of morphosyntactic features common to many Austronesian languages. It has verbal affixes marking focus and mood and a perfective suffix -mo. Similar systems have been described in various AN languages, particularly in the Philippines where the phenomenon of focus is perhaps most widely seen. In a previous paper (Barr 1988b) I described the major features of the Da'a verbal affixes and clitics. In this paper we are interested in going a step further and asking, "What governs the choice of which focus and mood affixes are to be used in discourse and when is perfective -mo to be used? Given a clause within a discourse, what dictates the choice of focus and mood and -mo? And further, what difference, if any, does a different discourse genre make in that choice?"

I will first examine briefly an overview of the verbal affixation in Da'a. Then I will examine what factors determine the use of focus, mood and perfective -mo in different discourse genre. Longacre (1972) in introducing his studies of discourse universals in Papua New Guinea languages has commented:

> We will find that the design of the whole discourse influences not only the structure of the sentences and paragraphs which compose it ... but also the structure of verbs and the choice of pronouns, so that in effect once a discourse type is chosen many decisions as to structure of very small parts of it are already made. (p.133)

He further notes that different discourse genre exercise different influences upon their component parts. What we want to see is the extent to which this is true in Da'a.

2. OVERVIEW OF DA'A VERBAL AFFIXATION

Before examining the use of focus and mood in Da'a discourse let us first look at the basic morphological facts of those systems. Roots and stems can be inflected for FOCUS, MOOD and ASPECT. Two focuses are marked: actor focus and goal focus. In this respect Da'a differs from the more prototypical Austronesian focus system such as is found in many Philippine languages or the Minahasa languages of North Sulawesi (see Sneddon 1978). Those types of languages typically

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have four or more focusable clause constituents including actor, goal, instrument, benefactive, locative. The more typical Central Sulawesi language has two focuses as seen typified in Da'a. Related Uma (Pipikoro) and Taa (dialect of Bare'e) also have a two focus system with actor and goal focus (Martens 1988, Gregerson and Thiessen 1982). Laudje, on the peninsula toward N. Sulawesi has been tentatively analysed as having a three focus system: actor, object and instrument (May Whatley, personal communication).

In addition to focus Da'a verbs are also inflected for MOOD. Two moods are distinguished in verbal affixation: DECLARATIVE and IMPERATIVE. DECLARATIVE mood is further divided into two categories marked with contrastive sets of affixes: realis and irrealis. A third mood, INTERROGATIVE, is marked by means of final rising intonation for Yes-No questions, and question words (Who, What, Where, etc.) with final falling intonation in content questions.

The basic meaning of REALIS in Da'a is as follows:

> Past, completed action, a state or action already existing or occurring, a characteristic which is real, existing, fact, fully actualised.

IRREALIS on the other hand has the following basic meaning:

> Non-past action, hypothetical, not yet realised action or state, a characteristic not yet real, not fully actualised. In this respect irrealis shares some features of subjunctive.

For the majority of forms realis is marked by n- and irrealis by m-. On goal focus forms ni- marks realis while ra- indicates irrealis. The following chart summarises Da'a focus and mood affixes.

Focus and mood affixes in Da'a

	ACTOR FOCUS	GOAL FOCUS
DECLARATIVE		
REALIS	na-[2]	
	ne-	ni-
	no-	
IRREALIS	ma-	
	me-	ra-
	mo-	
IMPERATIVE	pa-	
	pe-	rapo + ROOT/STEM
	po-	
	0	
	stem alone	

In addition to focus and mood, Da'a verbs can also be inflected to indicate a number of ASPECTS. These include: reciprocal and multiple actors (si-); non-volitional (nati-/mati-); reflexive (notiN-/motiN-); pretense (neti-/meti-); and purpose (nipo-/rapo- and rapomba-). Repeated and continuous aspect is marked by reduplication. See Appendix A for examples of possible affix combinations of focus, mood and aspect.[3]

As we will see in the subsequent discussion, both focus and mood affixes play a significant role in Da'a discourse, conveying not only clause level information, but discourse level features as well.

One further feature of Da'a morphology relevant to our discussion of focus and mood in discourse is the enclitic -mo. -mo has several meanings in Da'a. Used with realis it has the sense of 'already', and as such is glossed for convenience PERFECTIVE, though we will see it has further uses beyond this. The examples below illustrate this meaning of -mo.

(1)a. Na-lau-mo i'a.
R-*go*-PERF *he*
He already went

b. Na-bete-mo ana-na.
R-*big*-PERF *child-his*
His child is already big.

With irrealis -mo indicates that the action is IMMINENT, about to happen. With imperative mood, -mo mitigates or softens a command, making it less harsh. These two functions of -mo can be seen illustrated below.

(2)a. Ma-uja-mo.
IRR-*rain*-PERF
It's about to rain.

b. Mo-rongo-mo i'a.
IRR-*spouse*-PERF *she*
She's going to marry soon.

c. Pe-sai-mo ruru!
IMP-*stop.by*-PERF *first*
Stop by for a bit! (IMP softened by -mo)

d. Pone-mo!
climb-up-PERF
Climb up! (*come up into the house!*)

In addition to these clause level functions -mo also functions as a discourse marker, often working in conjunction with the focus and mood affixes to mark discourse level information, such as foregrounded events or sequential steps in a procedure. These uses of -mo will be examined in some detail as they occur in different discourse genre.

3. USE OF FOCUS, MOOD AND -MO IN DISCOURSE

Crucial to an understanding of the use of focus, mood and -mo in Da'a discourse is the concept of different discourse genre. As will be seen these three features of Da'a morphology function in different ways in different discourse genre. Here we will examine the use of focus, mood and -mo in four discourse genre: Narratives, a type of Procedural text we are calling Activity Genre (Reid 1970), Expository, and Hortatory. Following that we will see what generalisations across discourse can be made regarding the use of these morphological features. What we hope to demonstrate is the productive use of syntactic devices to mark various discourse level features in Da'a.

3.1 Narrative genre

Narratives relate events that occurred in real elapsed time. As such they are typically expressed in past tense, or related morphological categories. In many languages it is possible to tell a story in present tense, giving a 'historical present' type effect. Narratives typically have chronological as opposed to logical linkage. Most narratives have a plot structure with characteristic aperture to begin the text and finis to end it, and with episodes and peak or climax along the story line (Longacre 1976).

Narratives can be divided into two major types of information. MAIN EVENTS constitute the 'Backbone' or main skeletal framework of the story. These events are the FIGURE highlighted against the GROUND, they are the FOREGROUND of the narrative. In contrast to FOREGROUND is BACKGROUND. Background includes those elements of a story that constitute the 'flesh' on the skeleton of main events that serves to fill out and make the main story line interesting. Background includes such types of information as identification of participants, setting, explanations, evaluations by the speaker/author, collateral information (what did not happen but might have), and quoted material (Grimes 1975).

Narratives typically follow a three-stage pattern in which in the initial stage the setting for the story is established and the participants in the narrative are introduced. The length of this stage of narratives varies considerably from text to text. But all narratives convey this initial information in some form. These types of information are typically expressed in existential clauses using intransitive and stative verbs. Having established the setting and at least the main participants, narratives move into Stage II where initial actions of the participant(s) are described. These actions set the stage for the main narrative line. Typically Stage II uses intransitives and Actor-Focus (A-Foc) transitive clauses in Da'a.

Stages I and II are BACKGROUND information, setting the stage, adjusting the initial props for the beginning of the main story. In Stage III we find actions that develop the plot and carry it along to the climax and final wrap-up of the narrative. In this process a speaker introduces NEW INFORMATION while retaining memory of OLD INFORMATION. Information introduced into a narrative as new becomes old as the discourse progresses. New and old information are frequently distinguished through linguistic devices. As we will see in Da'a, focus and mood play roles in this process. The following diagram displays this general pattern of stages in narratives.

(3) STAGE	FOREGROUND	BACKGROUND	FOCUS
I. Existential		(NEW) (NEW) V - S	INT., Stative
II. Initial Action		(OLD) (NEW) (NEW) S - V - (O)	INT., A-Foc Transitive
III. Developmental Action	(NEW) (OLD) (OLD) V - S - O		INT., G-Foc Transitive

This narrative pattern can be seen in the following initial portion from a Da'a text.

(4)

STAGE I

a. Ri tempo nokolu
in time before
In times past

b. na-tuwu-mo kolombio
R-*live*-PERF *giant*
lived (R) *a giant*

c. bo samba'a ngana pailu ne-to'o ri ja'i-na.
and one child orphan R-*stay* 1c *with-him*
and an orphan lived (R) *with him.*

STAGE II

d. Sangga na-gana sampae ngana ne-to'o ri setu
after R-*enough one.year child* R-*stay* 1c *there*
After the child had lived (R) *there for one year*

e. ne-kutana-mo kolombio,
R-*ask*-PERF *giant*
the giant asked (R)

f. "Na-bete-mo ate-mu?"
R-*big*-PERF *liver-your*
"Is your liver big (R) *yet?"*

g. Ne-sono-mo ngana etu,
R-*answer*-PERF *child that*
The child answered (R),

h. "Da'apa. Da ewa tawa nggadue kanana."
not.yet still like leaf taro emerging
"Not yet. It is still just as big as an emerging taro leaf."

i. Nang-epe pesono ngana etu,
R-*hear answer child that*
Hearing the child's answer,

j. kolombio na-lino wou-mo.
giant R-*quiet again*-PERF
the giant was silent (R) *again.*

Dialogue repeated as in (4d) through (4j)

k. Ri setu-mo kolombio nom-pekiri,
1c *there*-PERF *giant* AF/R-*think*
There the giant thought (AF/R),

l. "Mana ma-saeka kumpu-kempe-ku na-bete.
no.more IRR-*long little.pet-my* R-*big*
"Not much longer and my 'little pet' will be big.

m. Damo sampae ka-saena."
only one.year nm-*length*
Only one year's time."

STAGE III

n. Sangga na-gana-pa tolumpae ngana ne-to'o ri ja'i-na,
after R-*enough*-SEQ *three.years child* R-*stay* 1c *with-him*
After it had been three years that the child lived (R) *with him*

o. ni-pekutana-na wo'u-mo,
GF/R-*ask-he* *again*-PERF
he (giant) asked (GF/R) *again,*

p. "Na-bete-mo ate-mu?"
R-*big*-PERF *liver-your*
"Is your liver big yet?"

q. Ne-sono ngana pailu,
R-*answer child orphan*
The orphan answered (R),

r. "Na-bete-mo."
R-*big*-PERF
"It is big (R)."

Stage I begins the story with the time frame being established in (4a) ri tempo nokolu *in times past.* Then the two major participants of the story are brought on stage in (4b) and (4c), na-tuwu-mo kolombio *lived a giant*, bo samba'a ngana pailu neto'o ri ja'i-na *and an orphan lived with him.* These clauses use intransitive verbs na-tuwu *lived*, ne-to'o *stayed with, lived.* Next the setting for the main narrative in which the giant tries to kill, cook and eat the orphan is set through a repetition of a dialogue between the giant and the orphan. In (4e) the giant asks, *"Is your liver big yet?"* In (4g) the orphan answers, *"Not yet"*. This dialogue is repeated (not included in this sample), expressed with intransitive verbs ne-kutana *asked* and ne-sono *answered.* After the repetition we approach the beginning of the main plot in (4k) Ri setu-mo kolombio nompekiri *There*-mo *the giant thought* (A-Foc/REAL). This initial action by the giant sets the stage for the development of the plot. In only one more year the orphan's liver will be big and can be eaten. The deictic ri setu *there* signals the beginning of a major development of the plot here, as the main narrative line centres on the actions of the giant to kill and eat the orphan and the orphan's strategy to avoid that grim fate.

After the rather lengthy stage setting of Stages I and II expressed by intransitive, stative and then A-Foc/REAL transitive verb in (4k), we finally reach the developmental stage, Stage III, in which by now the giant and orphan are old information and the action proceeds, here utilising the G-Foc/REAL form of the verb in (4o) ni-pekutana-na wo'u-mo, "Na-bete-mo ate-mu?" *Was asked* (G-Foc/REAL) *by him again*-mo, *"Already big your liver?"*

So we see in Da'a narrative the pattern of NEW information typically being introduced by means of non-goal focus verbs, that is intransitive, stative and A-Foc transitive verbs. Once new information becomes OLD the story line is typically developed further by means of Goal-Foc verbs. This is the prototypical pattern. In actual texts the situation varies considerably, with many intransitive verbs also advancing the story line (went, came, slept). As we shall see there are further rules that operate in determining which focus and mood are used. We will turn now to look at each of these morphological processes and note the pragmatic aspects of their use in Da'a.

3.1.1 Mood selection in narrative discourse

A major morphological feature in Da'a is the realis/irrealis distinction. Virtually every Da'a verb and adjective is marked for realis or irrealis. In narratives, realis forms predominate, as one might expect, as what is being

narrated is usually real, accomplished events.[4] Foregrounded events are exclusively realis whether A-Foc or G-Foc. Background material may be irrealis when referring to hypothetical events or states, not yet accomplished actions, contemplated, intended or proposed events or states. This contrast between the use of realis on foreground and irrealis on background material can be seen in the following excerpt from a fable about a frog and a rat trying to cross a flooded river. Having tried unsuccessfully to lay a piece of sugarcane across as a bridge, the frog thinks to himself:

(5)a. Ane wetu-mo aku mo-lolea,
if that.way-PERF *I* IRR-*make.bridge*
If that's how it is going to be to make a bridge (IRR),

b. aginapa aku me-kawantu.
better I IRR-*jump*
it's better I jump (IRR).

c. Tumpa ne-kawantu ngga ri wiwina na-rata wo'u ri wiwina.
frog R-*jump* *from* lc *bank* R-*arrive too on bank (other)*
The frog jumped (R) *from one bank of the river and arrived* (R) *on the other bank.*

In the background (5a) and (5b), the frog contemplates his dilemma. His intended or proposed action of jumping the river is marked irrealis, aginapa aku me-kawantu *it's better that I jump* (IRR). Then the next foreground event in (5c) is realis, the frog jumps. Tumpa ne-kawantu ngga ri wiwina na-rata wo'u ri wiwina *The frog jumped* (REAL) *from the bank (and) arrived* (REAL) *on the other bank.*

In Da'a complements such as what in English would be infinitives, are usually irrealis form, as in *he looked for a way to jump.* To jump is a proposed, not yet realised event in the narrative at that point. In Da'a these are irrealis, as seen below.

(6)a. Nom-pamula walesu nang-elo jalana me-kawantu.
AF/R-*began rat* AF/R-*look.for way* IRR-*jump*
The rat began to look for a way to jump (IRR).

b. Lako ne-kawantu i walesu pane'a,
just R-*jump* pm *rat* *mentioned*
The rat jumped (R),

c. aga na-lome.
only R-*swept.away*
but only got swept away (R) *in the water.*

In (6a) the rat looked for a way to jump. me-kawantu is irrealis in this infinitive type dependent clause. (6b) is foreground event and as such is realis. lako ne-kawantu i walesu panea aga na-lome *Just jumped* (REAL) *the rat, only swept away* (REAL).

So we see in the use of realis/irrealis forms, a basic logical use of realis for those completed, punctual events that characterise foreground events. Those background elements that are proposed, hypothetical, not yet real are marked irrealis. Let us look now at how focus affixes operate in narratives.

3.1.2 Focus selection in narratives

A number of factors affect the selection of focus affixes in Da'a. 1) The general pattern of narrative development, pictured in the diagram in (3) above, has some influence. 2) Same or different actors in successive foreground events plays a major role. Because of this, 3) the number of major actors or participants in a narrative also affects the distribution of focus affixes. 4) Specifiability of actor in context is a further relevant factor. 5) Discourse boundaries such as main plot segment divisions can affect focus selection. 6) Introduction of props or minor participants into an already established and progressing narrative affects focus selection too. And 7) the presence of a thematic participant or prop influences focus selection. These different factors will be examined and illustrated from Da'a narratives.

3.1.2.1 General pattern of narrative development

As was illustrated in the diagram in (3) narratives typically have three stages of development. Stage I typically states what *exists* or *is*, and introduces the *who* of the narrative. Intransitive and stative verbs are the main verb types here, essentially A-Foc in that there is only one argument to a predicate with no objects. Stage II material gives *initial actions* by the participant(s) using intransitives and A-Foc transitive forms. Finally Stage III material *develops the story* with frequent use of G-Foc transitive verbs as the actor(s) are established and known. Some narratives begin with an action rather than long introductory sections as exemplified in the example cited in (4) above. Such initial actions use A-Foc forms as they are beginning the story and as such have all NEW information. The examples below each initiating a narrative discourse illustrate this.

(7) Ngana pailu simbau ngana pailu no-si-porongo.
child orphan each child orphan R-REC-*marry*
Two orphans married each other (AF).

(8) No-si-mpakeni-mo i Lisa, i Tuma bo i Kutu lau no-asu.
R-REC-*urge*-PERF pm *Lisa* pm *Tuma and* pm *Kutu go* R-*hunt*
Lisa, Tuma and Kutu urged each other (AF) *to go hunting.*

A-Foc/REAL forms are found in (7) no-si-porongo *marry each other*, and in (8) no-si-mpakeni-mo *urged each other*-mo.

While this general pattern of narrative progression can be seen, specific narrative texts vary considerably from this prototypical pattern. We will examine in turn now each of the other factors mentioned above to illustrate how they influence focus selection in Da'a.

3.1.2.2 Same or different actor

A key factor in the selection of focus affixes in Da'a is whether the ACTOR of the clause under consideration is the same as the actor of the previous foregrounded clause. The BASIC RULE OF FOCUS SELECTION in narrative texts is: *If in successive foregrounded transitive verbs the actor is the same, G-Foc/REAL forms will be used. If it is different A-Foc will be used.* Thus we see that though there is a correlation between G-Foc and foregrounding as Hopper and

Thompson's transitivity hypothesis predicts (1980), it is not being on the foreground that determines G-Foc selection, but coreferentiality of actor on successive verbs. This pattern can be seen in the following fragment of narrative text.

FOREGROUND BACKGROUND

(9) a. Na-rata ri bambaru,
R-*arrive at hut*
When they arrived at the hut,

b. ni-pakau i Lisa-mo i Kutu no-tunu wawu.
GF/R-*order* pm *Lisa*-PERF pm *Kutu* R-*roast pig*
Kutu was ordered (GF) *by Lisa to roast the pig.*

c. Na-opu wawu ni-tunu
R-*finish pig* GF/R-*roast*
After the pig was roasted (GF),

d. ni-tapa nu ira.
GF/R-*smoked by them*
it was smoked (GF) *by them.*

e. Na-opu ni-tapa
R-*finish* GF/R-*smoked*
After (it) was smoked (GF),

f. ni-koni nu ira santongo,
GF/R-*eat by them one.half*
half was eaten (GF) *by them,*

g. ni-boli nu ira wou santongo.
GF/R-*saved by them too one.half*
(and) half was saved (GF) *by them too.*

In (9a) the hunters arrive at their hut. Lisa, the leader, orders Kutu to roast the pig meat (9b). They roasted it, smoked it (9d), ate half of it (9f) and saved half of it (9g). All the foregrounded verbs are G-Foc/REAL marked by ni-; ni-pakau *ordered*, ni-tapa *smoked*, ni-koni *ate*, ni-boli *saved*. G-Foc is used because the actions are carried out by the same crew (they). Here we have more than one actor but they function together as a unit, not as individuals initiating different actions.

The same pattern of same actor on successive foregrounded clauses using G-Foc is seen in the following fragment from another narrative about a giant and an orphan.

FOREGROUND

(10) a. Nom-pamula-mo kolombio nang-ala ngana etu,
AF/R-*begin*-PERF *giant* AF/R-*take child that*
The giant began (AF) *to take the child,*

b. ni-sambale-na
GF/R-*slaughter-he*
he slaughtered (him) (GF)

c. bo ni-tompo-na
and GF/R-*chopped-he*
and chopped (him) up (GF)

d. ni-pajadi-na uta ntibo to ni-poriapu nu ngana pailu pangane.
GF/R-*made-he meat rice* RM GF/R-*cook by child orphan earlier*
(and) made (him) (GF) *into the "main dish" with the rice which had been cooked by the orphan earlier.*

Successive foregrounded actions take G-Foc/REAL affixes in (10b), (10c), and (10d), ni-sambale-na *slaughtered*, ni-tompo-na *chopped*, ni-pajadi-na *made into*, as the actor is the giant throughout. No action is done by any other actor. This is a classic example of coreferentiality of actor in successive foreground actions as a basic determining factor in the selection of focus affixation in Da'a narratives.

The above examples illustrate G-Foc on successive foreground events with the same actor. As further specified in our rule a SHIFT or change in actor on foreground events triggers the selection of A-Foc forms on transitive verbs. This shifting of action back and forth and subsequent frequent use of A-Foc lowers the correlation between foreground and G-Foc noted above. The following segment of narrative about the Giant and Orphan illustrates this use of A-Foc on successive foreground events with different actors.

FOREGROUND	BACKGROUND
(11)	a. Dako na-rata santongo jala *just* R-*arrive middle way* *(He) had just arrived in the middle of the way*
b. ni-kita-na etu-mo kolombio ne-raga. GF/R-*see-he that*-PERF *giant* R-*chasing* *he saw* (GF) *there was the giant chasing.*	
c. Ni-kamburaka-na kutu. GF/R-*scatter-he lice* *He scattered* (GF) *the lice.*	
d. Na-lera nan-tirunaka kutu etu kolombio, R-*stop* AF/R-*pick.up lice the giant* *The giant stopped, picked up* (AF) *the lice,*	
e. ngana etu nom-pasimbuku no-ngowa. *child the* AF/R-*try* R-*run* *the child tried* (AF) *to run.*	
	f. Naupa i'a no-ngowa *though he* R-*run* *Even though he ran,*
	g. sampenjani na-munji *suddenly* R-*close* *suddenly the giant was again close.*
h. Ni-poso-na bobo ntoila GF/R-*burst-he container lime* *He burst* (GF) *the lime container*	
i. etu na-jadi kulimu nangga-lendu mata kolombio *that* R-*become clouds* AF/R-*cover eye giant* *that became clouds that covered* (AF) *the giant's eyes*	
j. sampe na-rata ri sou Baramponguu. *till* R-*arrive at house Baramponguu* *until he arrived at the house of Baramponguu.*	

k. Na-rata ri setu
R-*arrive* lc *there*
Arriving there

1. ni-pekutana-na,
GF/R-*ask-he*
he asked (GF),

m. "Ni-kita-mu ngana pailu?"
GF/R-*see-you child orphan*
"Have you seen (GF) *the orphan?"*

This segment carries on the action after the orphan wakes up, gets his things together and leaves the home of the giant to run away. In (11b) the orphan is still the actor and thus we get G-Foc/REAL ni-kita-na *he saw* (G-Foc/REAL). In (11c) he is still actor and we get G-Foc/REAL ni-kamburaka-na *he scattered* (G-Foc/REAL). In (11d) the action shifts to the giant who stops (INT/REAL) na-lera, and picks up (A-Foc/REAL), nan-tirunaka the lice, thus buying some time for the child to further his escape. In (11e) the child is the actor again as he tries to (A-Foc/REAL) nom-pasimbuku, run (INT/REAL), no-ngowa. In (11f) he is still actor as he bursts (G-Foc/REAL) ni-poso-na the lime container. In (11i) the lime became clouds that then function as actor to cover (A-Foc/REAL) nangga-lendu the giant's eyes. Had the orphan been the actor we would have gotten ni-ka-lendu-na *he covered* (G-Foc/REAL). In (11j) the giant is the actor again as he continues on till he arrives (INT/REAL) na-rata at the house of Baramponguu. Arriving there (11k) he asked (G-Foc/REAL), ni-pekutana-na *Have you seen the orphan?*

Thus as the action shifts from the orphan to the giant and then back to the orphan, and then to the clouds and to the giant again, A-Foc/REAL on transitive verbs is used (11d, e and i). When the actor of a succeeding foreground verb is the same as the previous one, G-Foc/REAL forms are used on transitive verbs (11b, c, h, and 1).

Many Da'a narratives use dialogue extensively. In such texts the foreground verbs are often the dialogue introducers like 'said', 'asked', 'answered', 'replied' and so on. Thus a text with a lot of dialogue between different actors has a high percentage of A-Foc/REAL on transitive verb forms as each shift in actor triggers A-Foc forms. This can be seen in the example below.

FOREGROUND BACKGROUND

(12)a. Nang-uli-mo singa ka tawewe,
AF/R-*say*-PERF *lion to cat*
The lion said (AF) *to the cat,*

b. "Ma-dota iko mom-paguru aku?"
IRR-*want you* AF/IRR-*teach me*
"Do you want to teach me?"

c. Ne-sono tawewe,
R-*answer cat*
The cat answered,

d. "Ma-dota."
IRR-*want*
"I want to."

e. Nang-uli singa,
AF/R-*say lion*
The lion said (AF),

f. "Ane iko ma-dota aku na-damba mpu'u.
if you IRR-*want I* R-*happy very*
"If you want to I am very happy."

But our rule regarding same actor on successive foreground events still holds as seen in (13) below.

FOREGROUND BACKGROUND

(13) a. Sangga nangga-pone tawewe ri lolo nggayu,
after AF/R-*climb cat to top tree*
When the cat had climbed (AF) *to the top of the tree,*

b. mana na-nau-nau,
no.more R-*go.down*-con
(he) no longer went down,

c. pade ni-uli-na ...
and GF/R-*say-he*
and he said (GF) ...

3.1.2.3 Number of major participants

As we saw in the above discussion it is of major importance in choosing focus affixes in Da'a narratives whether actors of successive foreground events are the SAME or DIFFERENT. Because of this the NUMBER of major actors in a narrative will have significant influence on focus selection as well. If there is essentially one major participant there will be no shifting back and forth between different actors, which as we saw above would trigger A-Foc on transitive verbs. Consequently we would expect a higher use of G-Foc on transitive verbs carrying the main event line forward. One thinks of such classic narratives as *The Old Man and the Sea* which typify this kind of story involving only one major actor.

In contrast to this are texts with a number of major participants who initiate action. The action frequently shifts from one actor to another. Often there are several actors 'on stage' at the same time. In Da'a such texts have a very different distribution of A-Foc and G-Foc affixes. They have a predominance of A-Foc verbs.

Whereas with texts with only one major participant there tends to be a high correlation of G-Foc with foreground events and A-Foc with background as is predicted by the Transitivity Hypothesis (Hopper and Thompson 1980), texts with several major participants have a quite different correlation; A-Foc frequently occurs on foregrounded events as the action shifts from actor to actor. So in Da'a we see that it is not merely being foreground or background material that influences focus. Other factors interact to determine focus selection.

3.1.2.4 Specifiability of actor

Another major factor determining focus selection is when the actor is unspecifiable, either because the actor is irrelevant to the action being described or is indefinite. This is like English *someone, somebody, everybody*, or actorless passive sentences like, "The road was repaired last week". In such sentences it

is not important to specify who the actor is. What is important is that the action was done. In such situations where the actor is unspecifiable, Da'a uses, logically, G-Foc forms. This is seen in the selection below from a text telling of the founding of Maranata village and how it got its name.

(14)a. Jadi nom-pamula nggari eo etu
so AF/R-*begin from day that*
So beginning (AF) *from that day*

b. sanga Maranata ni-pake-mo ane mo-tesa ka tau.
name Maranata GF/R-*used*-Perf *if* IRR-*speak to people*
the name Maranata was used (GF) *if speaking to people.*

c. Sanga Maranata ni-tulisi-mo ri gareja.
name Maranata GF/R-*write*-PERF *on church*
The name Maranata was written (GF) *on the church.*

d. Ni-tulisi-mo ri mere sikola.
GF/R-*write*-PERF *on sign school*
(It) was written (GF) *on the school sign.*

e. Ni-pake-mo ri potomu ...
GF/R-*use*-PERF *in market*
(It) was used (GF) *in the market ...*

In (14b-e) who did the writing or using is irrelevant. The point is the name Maranata was used and came to be accepted by all as the village name. So we see G-Foc/REAL used where the actor is unspecifiable, or irrelevant in the sentence.

3.1.2.5 Discourse boundaries

Another factor that triggers A-Foc on transitive verbs is major discourse boundaries. Even where successive events on the foreground have the same actor, A-Foc forms are used when a major boundary intervenes. Da'a frequently uses the deictic ri setu *there* with perfective -mo to mark major plot developments. This triggers A-Foc at the beginning of the new section even when it is the same actor as in the last foregrounded event. We pick up the narrative in the following example after the giant and orphan have been introduced and the giant has asked twice if the orphan's liver was big yet. The child has answered twice, "Not yet". Then the giant says,

FOREGROUND BACKGROUND

(15)a. Nang-uli kolombio,
AF/R-*say giant*
The giant said,

b. "O, da'apa na-bete."
O not.yet R-*big*
"O, it's not big yet."

c. RI SETU-mo kolombio nom-pekiri,
lc *THERE*-PERF *giant* AF/R-*think*
THERE the giant thought (AF),

d. "Mana ma-saeka kumpu-kempe-ku na-bete."
no.more IRR-*long 'little-pet'-my* R-*big*
"Not much longer and my 'little pet' will be big."

In (15c), though the giant is still the only actor on the foreground we do not get G-Foc/REAL ni-pekiri-na *he thought*, but nom-pekiri *he thought* (A-Foc/REAL). This is triggered by the marking of major plot juncture, as here the plot thickens and we find out why the giant's great interest in the size of the orphan's liver. Further on in this same text the giant orders the orphan to pound rice in the mortar and cook it for the evening meal. We pick up the narrative there.

FOREGROUND BACKGROUND

(16)a. Ne-sono ngana pailu etu
R-*answer child orphan the*
The orphan answered,

b. "Iyo."
yes
"Yes."

c. RI SETU nom-pamula-mo ngana etu nom-bayu.
lc *THERE* AF/R-*begin*-PERF *child the* AF/R-*pound.rice*
THERE the child began to pound rice.

(16c) has the same actor as (16a), the orphan. Both are foreground events. But (16c) has A-Foc/REAL nom-pamula-mo *began*, not the G-Foc/REAL form possible ni-pamula-mo,[5] which is what would be predicted by our same-actor rule above. Once again we see that this is because (16c) marks the beginning of a major development of the plot in which the orphan eventually succeeds in avoiding being eaten by changing clothes and blankets with the giant's child. In the end the giant unknowingly slaughters his own child to eat while the orphan gets away. Ri setu in (16c) tags this beginning of a new major plot development and subsequently A-Foc/REAL is used on the verb in that clause, nom-pamula-mo.

3.1.2.6 Introduction of props or minor participants

A further discourse constraint triggers the use of A-Foc where we would expect G-Foc based on the same actor in successive foreground events rule. This is in introducing new props or minor participants in the middle of a narrative. In this respect we back up to Stage II type strategies using A-Foc affixes to signal the introduction of new elements. This can be seen in the following selection, again from the giant and orphan narrative.

FOREGROUND BACKGROUND

(17) a. Sangga na-lai-pa kolombio
after R-*go*-SEQ *giant*
After the giant had gone,

b. nem-bangu-mo ngana etu,
R-*get.up*-PERF *child the*
the child got up,

c. ma-dota mom-pelea
IRR-*want* AF/IRR-*flee*
wanting to flee

d. ma-lai nggari setu.
IRR-*go from there*
and go from there.

e. Ni-powia-na saongu akala,
GF/R-*do-he one strategy*
He did (GF) *one strategy,*

f. i'a nom-pasiromu kutu sabanga, toila saongu bobo
he AF/R-*gather.up lice one.coconut.shell lime one container*
he gathered (AF) *up one coconut shell of lice, and one container of lime*

g. pade na-nggaliwo na-lai.
and R-*depart* R-*go*
and departed and went.

In (17b) the orphan wakes up after the giant has gone for a walk. He wants to run away from there. In (17e) he is still the actor and we get, predictably, G-Foc/REAL ni-powia-na saongu akala *he made* (G-Foc) *a strategy*. But then the next foreground clause (17f) we get a shift in focus to A-Foc/REAL ia nom-pasiromu *he gathered up*, instead of the G-Foc ni-pasiromu-na. This is because in (17f) two new props are brought into the narrative which will play a somewhat major role in helping the orphan escape from the giant. He gathers up one coconut shell of lice, kutu, and one shell full of lime, toila. These are later used by the orphan to distract the giant, enabling the orphan to make good his escape even though he is chased by the giant. This introduction of new props triggers A-Foc/REAL where otherwise we would expect G-Foc, as the actor is the same as the previous foreground clause.

A similar use of A-Foc to introduce or bring new participants or props into a narrative is seen in the selection below from another narrative. We pick up this narrative near the end. Yule, born a snake, has married the seventh woman he proposed to. After he is accepted he changes into a handsome young man. His new wife has been told to cook food to eat. Then comes a long series of G-Foc verbs advancing the action along the main event line.

FOREGROUND

(18)a. Ni-wai ntau pawulu manu
GF/R-*give person feather chicken*
People gave (GF) *(her) chicken feather*

b. wuluna ni-tunu
feather GF/R-*roast*
the feather was roasted (GF)

c. ni-koto ronggoto
GF/R-*cut two.pieces*
was cut (GF) *in two pieces*

d. ni-dika ranggura.
GF/R-*put in.pot*
was put (GF) *in a pot.*

e. Ni-poriapu njaneo
GF/R-*cook all.day*
Was cooked (GF) *all day,*

f. ni-dungga pomporiapu.
GF/R-*open cooking*
was opened (GF) *the cooking.*

All the verbs on the foreground are G-Foc/REAL, ni-wai *given*, ni-tunu *roasted*, ni-koto *cut*, ni-dika *placed*, ni-poriapu *cooked*, ni-dungga *opened*. Then we pick up the narrative.

	FOREGROUND	BACKGROUND
(19)		a. Na-ngongo-mo tibo etu R-*done*-PERF *rice the* *(When) the rice was done*
	b. ni-sondu nu ira ri loya GF/R-*spoon by them in bowl* *they spooned it* (GF) *into a bowl*	
	c. ni-keni ranjapo. GF/R-*take in.house* *took it* (GF) *into the house.*	
	d. Nang-goni-mo ira ntali matu'a. AF/R-*eat*-PERF *they and in-laws* *They and their in-laws ate* (GF).	

The food is done (19a), it is spooned out (G-Foc/REAL) by them into a bowl, ni-sondu nu ira ri loya (19b), it is carried (G-Foc/REAL) into the house, ni-keni ranjapo (19c), and then they and Yule's parents-in-law, matu'a, eat it (A-Foc/REAL), nang-goni-mo (19d). We do not get G-Foc/REAL *ni-koni nu ira-mo *eaten by them*-mo in (19d), as this would mean only Yule and his wife ate. With the introduction at this point of the in-laws, matu'a, there is a shift back to A-Foc. The in-laws are not even given a full introduction. Rather they are just mentioned in this sentence. Yet the focus affix signals their arrival 'on stage'.

3.1.2.7 Thematic prominence

Grimes (1975:323) has noted that "every clause, sentence, paragraph, episode and discourse is organized around a particular element that is taken as its point of departure." He notes that all languages have various devices for marking theme, those points of departure mentioned above. He further notes that in some languages focus inflection functions to help mark theme.

Jones (1977) observes that as language is hierarchical with different levels of structure, so theme has different levels. There are low level themes that are in force over a small segment or unit of discourse. And there are also higher level, more global themes. Thus in any given discourse there will be different levels of theme. There will be an overall discourse theme, and then subordinate to that overall global theme, there will be subsidiary themes encompassing smaller units of the discourse such as episode, paragraph, sentence or even clause. Languages have various means by which different levels of theme are

marked. Hearers need to be able to tell at what level the theme of any given unit is operating. This is in part how people know what is a major point or theme and what is a more minor, supporting point or theme.

This is a complex topic, and a full treatment of how theme is marked in Da'a is beyond the scope of this current paper. But we need to recognise the basic facts outlined above as they bear on our discussion of focus in Da'a. Let us look briefly at how focus in Da'a plays a role in helping hearers keep track of theme in narratives.

A basic function of focus in Da'a is to help mark local level themes. This can be seen at work in relative clauses. If the item modified by the relative clause is an actor, A-Foc is obligatorily used on the verb in the relative clause. This is seen in the examples below.

(20) No-liu ri ja'i nu besi to nom-porayu Yule.
R-*pass* lc *place of woman* RM AF/R-*refuse Yule*
(They) passed by the place of the woman who had refused (AF/R) *Yule.*

(21)a. Nom-pamula ngga ri setu-mo lowe na-damba-mo rara-na.
AF/R-*begin from* lc *there*-PERF *hawk* R-*glad*-PERF *inside-his*
Beginning (AF) *from there the hawk was glad.*

b. Ma-mamala-mo i'a mang-elo tanggasi to nomba-bagiu i'a nokolu.
IRR-*able*-PERF *he* AF/IRR-*look.for tarsius* RM AF/R-*trick he before*
He could now look for (IRR) *the tarsius who had tricked* (AF/R) *him before.*

In (20), the verb following the relative clause marker to is nom-porayu *refused* (AF/R), NOT G-Foc ni-porayu because what is being expanded by the relative clause is the woman, besi. In this story Yule's mother had taken a marriage proposal to the woman. But that proposal (in the form of betel nut) had been refused. Here the relative clause referring to that woman is A-Foc as she is actor, not object. In (21) the relative clause again has A-Foc, nomba-bagiu *tricked, deceived* as the item being modified is the tarsius, tanggasi, who earlier in the story had tricked the hawk and pulled all his feathers out, pretending he was picking out lice. So *actor* modified in a relative clause produces A-Foc affixes because an actor is the local clause theme at that point.

Where the item modified in a relative clause is a *goal*, G-Foc is predictably used, as goal is local theme. This is seen in the examples below.

(22)a. Ri tempona kolombio nang-ala ngana etu ra-sambale-na
at time giant AF/R-*take child the* GF/IRR-*slaughter-he*
At the time the giant took (AF) *the child to be slaughtered* (GF),

b. da'a na-wela ngana pailu to ni-sambale-na,
not R-*hit child orphan* RM GF/R-*slaughter-he*
it was not (did not hit) the orphan who was slaughtered (GF) *by him,*

c. aga ana-na mboto.
only child-his own
only his own child.

(23) Ni-pakau i Lisa-mo Kutu no-rebu pu'u balo ra-pangunja bolo
GF/R-*order* pm *Lisa*-PERF *Kutu* R-*pull.out base bamboo* GF/IRR-*block hole*

watu to nipe-sua kolombio.
rock RM GF/R-*enter giant*

Lisa ordered (GF/R) *Kutu to pull out bamboo to block* (GF) *the cave which had been entered* (GF) *by the giant.*

In (22) the relative clause is modifying the child, an object. Hence G-Foc is used, ni-sambale-na *he slaughtered* (GF), NOT A-Foc, i'a nan-jambale. Similarly in (23) nipe-sua *entered* (GF), is expanding, modifying the cave, bolo watu, and thus G-Foc is used on the verb, NOT A-Foc.

Another place where we see this contrast in the use of Actor and Goal focus is in recapitulated clauses on background material. One function of such linkage devices is to help maintain thematic continuity (Grimes 1975). In these recapitulated clauses when the theme is object, G-Foc is used, and when the theme which is repeated is actor, A-Foc is used. This can be seen in the examples below.

FOREGROUND BACKGROUND

(24) a. Na-rata ri bambaru
R-*arrive at hut*
When they arrived at the hut

b. ni-pakau i Lisa-mo Kutu no-tunu wawu.
GF/R-*order* pm *Lisa*-PERF *Kutu* R-*roast pig*
Lisa ordered (GF) *Kutu to roast the pig.*

c. Na-opu wawu ni-tunu
R-*finish pig* GF/R-*roast*
After the pig was roasted (GF)

d. ni-tapa nu ira.
GF/R-*smoked by them*
it was smoked (GF) *by them.*

e. Na-opu ni-tapa
R-*finish* GF/R-*smoke*
After it was smoked (GF)

f. ni-koni nu ira santongo ...
GF/R-*eat by them one.half*
they ate (GF) *one half ...*

In the recapitulated clauses in (24c and e) G-Foc is used as the pig is the theme throughout this section. Had A-Foc been used this would have signalled the actors as thematic, which is not at all the situation here. The pig is fronted in (24c), a further signal of its thematic position.

When the thematic element is an actor, not goal, A-Foc is used on the recapitulated verb, as in the example below.

FOREGROUND BACKGROUND

(25) a. Na-rata ri ja'i nu rongo-na
R-*arrive* lc *place of spouse-his*
When he arrived at his wife's place

b. na-na'u nggari bunggu jara
R-*get.down from back.of horse*
he got down from the back of the horse

c. ni-tataka-na-mo jara.
GF/R-*tie.up-he*-PERF *horse*
he tied up (GF) *the horse.*

d. Na-opu i'a nan-tataka jara,
R-*finish he* AF/R-*tie.up horse*
After he tied up (AF) *the horse,*

e. ne-pone-mo ranjapo nu rongo-na.
R-*climb*-PERF *in.house of wife-his*
he climbed up into the house of his wife.

The recapitulated clause in (25d) is A-Foc nan-tataka jara *tied up* (AF) *the horse*, although the foreground clause being repeated for discourse cohesion was G-Foc, ni-tataka-na-mo jara. This section of text is describing Yule's actions upon arrival at his fiancee's house on his wedding day. He is thematic and thus we get A-Foc on the recapitulated clause. Had G-Foc been used in (25d) Naopu ni-tataka-na jara *After he tied up* (GF) *the horse*, this would have signalled that the *horse* was somehow thematic.

This principle applies beyond relative clauses and recapitulated phrases as well. In the following examples the theme of the interaction is an object, betel nut, and G-Foc is used. This is a conversation between Yule and his mother regarding his marriage proposal taken to the parents of a young girl.

(26) "Na-boli-mo sambulu-ku?" "O, da'a nipo-kono nu besi."
R-*left*-PERF *betel-my* *O not* GF/R-*like by woman*
"Was my betel left (there)?" "Oh, the woman did not like (GF/R) *it."*

The theme of this conversation is sambulu-ku *my betel nut*. Yule's mother replies referring to the betel nut, "It wasn't liked by the woman." She did NOT say besi da'a nompo-kono etu *the woman did not like it* (AF/R), because the object, betel nut, is the theme, triggering G-Foc.

Further on in the same story Yule's mother goes to another house where the following exchange takes place.

(27) "Aku mang-geni sambulu Yule. Ba rapo-kono nggomi se'i."
I AF/IRR-*bring betel Yule maybe* GF/IRR-*like you here*
"I'm bringing Yule's betel nut. Perhaps you here would like it (GF)."

Once again G-Foc is used, rapo-kono *like* (GF), because Yule's mother is talking about the betel nut she brought. The theme is an object and triggers G-Foc affixes.

These examples above illustrate a basic principle involved in the use of focus affixes, that is, helping mark local, lower level theme. While I have not yet identified all the possible uses of focus in marking theme in Da'a, let me illustrate a bit further the use of this. In narratives where there is a shift in actors we have seen that the normal pattern is for A-Foc to be used. The use of G-Foc at those points where A-Foc is expected because of this shift in actors, signals that the object being talked about is A HIGHER LEVEL THEME. This deliberate skewing of pattern serves to signal thematic information important to the hearer. This marks greater prominence on the object in the overall story.

This principle can be seen operating in the following illustrations. The first illustration is from a story about a family that had a baby that was born a

snake whom they called Yule (ule = *snake* in Da'a). When Yule was grown he had his mother take betel nut (how marriage is proposed) to the mothers of prospective wives. Six women in a row refused the proposal, stating how useless a husband Yule would be. He couldn't work or provide for a family. Finally the seventh woman (seven is a recurring theme in Da'a folktales) accepts the proposal.

	FOREGROUND	BACKGROUND
(28)		a. Na-gana kapapituongu njou R-*enough seventh house* *At the seventh house*
	b. pade ni-tarima nu besi sambulu Yule. *then* GF/R-*receive by woman betel Yule* *then the woman received Yule's betel nut.*	

In the last foreground clause just before this sentence, the actor is Yule's mother. In (28b) the actor is the woman in the seventh house visited by Yule's mother. According to our rule of same actor on successive foreground events (28b) should be A-Foc, but it is not. What triggers G-Foc is that the *betel nut*, sambulu, is what is being talked about. For six times Yule's mother has taken his betel nut to six different women to propose marriage. All six refused. Now finally the seventh received the betel, ni-tarima nu besi sambulu Yule *the woman received* (GF/R) *Yule's betel nut.* This marks a major development in the story. Up to now the betel nut has been in the spotlight as Yule's mother takes it around trying to find someone who will accept her son's marriage proposal. Now in (28b) it is finally accepted. The betel nut is the theme and the woman who receives it is left a shadowy, background character. The betel nut is higher level theme and G-Foc in (28b), where A-Foc is expected because of a shift in actors, helps the reader know this.[6]

The example below further illustrates this principle. This is also from the Yule folktale. Yule asks his new bride for some chicken. She replies that they have none there. Yule then orders her to find some.

	FOREGROUND	BACKGROUND
(29)		a. "Elo kamba wuluna ritu." *find even.one feather there* *"Find even just one feather there."*
	b. Terpaksa rongo-na nang-elo wulu manu *forced wife-his* AF/R-*look.for feather chicken* *His wife had to look for* (AF) *a chicken feather*	
		c. da'a ni-rata-na, *not* GF/R-*find-she* *(but she) did not find any*
	d. lau nom-perapi wulu manu ntau nggari wiwi nu sapo ira. *go* AF/R-*request feather chicken people's from edge of house their* *(she) went and asked for a feather from the people near the edge of their house.*	
	e. Hai. Ni-wai ntau pawulu manu *hey* GF/R-*give people feather chicken* *Hey. The people gave* (GF) *a chicken feather*	

f. wuluna ni-tunu
feather GF/R-*roasted*
the feather was roasted (GF)

g. ni-koto ronggoto
GF/R-*cut two.pieces*
was cut (GF) *into two pieces*

h. ni-dika ranggura
GF/R-*put into.pot*
was put (GF) *into a pot*

i. ni-poriapu njaneo.
GF/R-*cook all.day*
was cooked (GF) *all day long.*

In (29b) the wife has to look for (AF) a chicken feather, but she does not find any (GF) (29c). She goes and asks (AF) for a feather from the neighbours. This bringing on stage of a new prop is signalled by A-Foc in (29d) although the actor is the same as in (29b), the wife. The feather in the spotlight is a feather from the people who live near the house where Yule and his wife are. It is introduced with a rather full descriptive clause in (29d) and from that point on is the theme, what is being described, for the next eleven clauses. Thus in (29e) ni-wai ntau *people gave* (GF), G-Foc is used, NOT A-Foc, although the action has shifted from Yule's wife to the people who gave her a feather. In (29f) the action shifts back to Yule's wife, but again this shift in actor does NOT trigger A-Foc, as the feather, here the *thematic prop*, causes G-Foc to be selected. The actor, Mama Yule, is not even mentioned in the sentence. One reason the feather is here thematic is that there is magic involved in the cooking process. One feather is cooked and turns into a full pot of nice chicken.

So the presence of a higher level theme at a given point in a discourse can affect focus choice. Where A-Foc is predicted by our rule of same actor on successive foreground events, but the *thematically prominent element* at that stage in the narrative is an object, G-Foc is used. Da'a uses a deliberate skewing of the normal focus selection pattern to mark higher level theme.

3.1.3 Perfective -mo in narrative discourse

In the overview of Da'a verbal affixation presented in section 2 we noted that the clitic -mo has several meanings or functions. We saw in example (1) that it can mean 'already' when used with realis. With irrealis it indicates that an action is imminent. And with imperative mood it serves to mitigate commands, or to make them milder. We now want to examine in some detail a further discourse level use of -mo in narratives.

-mo functions to mark those elements of a narrative considered by the speaker to be the key points of the story. It serves to highlight to the hearer those foreground events that are especially relevant in the speaker's view. Those clauses with -mo tend to form a basic skeleton outline of the crucial elements of the story.[7] The clause level uses of -mo are governed by the meaning being expressed such as 'already' or 'action about to happen'. But the use of -mo to mark those elements considered by the speaker to be especially salient is not tightly prescribed by syntactically controlled rules. There is room here for individual speaker variation as to what each feels are the salient points. In well known folktales that are more or less set we would expect to find most

speakers tagging the same basic elements with -mo. On the other hand, in narratives or personal experiences not part of the general world of knowledge of the Da'a, the use of -mo will depend on the narrator's view of what he considers are the salient points.

Foreground clauses marked with -mo are completed, successive events NOT simultaneous or overlapping events. Each must be completed before the next can occur. In the narrative about the Giant and the Orphan, the eleven foreground clauses marked with -mo ALL contain such punctual, non-overlapping verbs. Those eleven verbs are as follows:

(30) clause no.

24. asked
39. began to pound rice
41. cooked rice
47. fell asleep
54. (certain action) was done
59. the giant arrived
65. the giant began to take and slaughter the child
81. the child got up
103. the giant asked
115. he began to cut the giant's teeth

Each of the above verbs is a completed event that must be done before the next successive event can occur.

In Da'a it is rare for -mo to occur on transitive verbs. A statistical count of eight narrative texts shows that of a total of 219 uses of -mo, only 27 are on transitive verbs. 13 of those are on G-Foc and 14 on A-Foc.[8] 101 occurrences of -mo are on intransitive or stative verbs, while another 91 occurrences are on non-verbs such as the words 'again' or 'there' (in marking major plot developments as seen in 3.1.2.5 above). As a result of this distribution of -mo it is not possible to make correlations between the focus affixes and perfective -mo. These two features seem to work in a complementary manner in narrative discourse.

One reason -mo rarely occurs on G-Foc transitive verbs is a constraint on the use of -mo on successive foreground actions by the same actor in the same sentence. Normally the initial foreground clause in a sentence with several successive actions is marked with -mo, and the others not. This is illustrated in the segment below.

(31)a. Nom-pamula-mo kolombio nang-ala ngana etu,
AF/R-*begin*-PERF *giant* AF/R-*take child that*
The giant began to take the child,

b. ni-sambale-na
GF/R-*slaughter-he*
he slaughtered (GF) *(him)*

c. bo ni-tompo-na
and GF/R-*chopped-he*
and chopped (him) up (GF)

d. ni-pajadi-na uta ntibo to ni-poriapu nu ngana pailu pangane.
GF/R-*made-he meat rice* RM GF/R-*cooked by child orphan earlier*
(and) made (him) into meat with the rice that had been cooked by the orphan earlier.

In (31a) the verb nom-pamula is marked with -mo. Then in (31b, c, and d) all successive foreground actions by the giant in the same sentence, -mo is NOT used. Thus those G-Foc verbs in (31b, c, and d) that move the story along the event line are not marked with -mo. This pattern occurs frequently in narrative texts and partly accounts for the low use of -mo on G-Foc transitive verbs.

Another pattern in the use of -mo is its use in conjunction with recapitulated clauses used for discourse cohesion. Another clitic, -pa is frequently used on the recapitulated clause introduced by sangga *after*. The next foreground event after the clause tagged with -pa usually takes -mo. The examples below illustrate this paired use of -pa and -mo.

FOREGROUND BACKGROUND

(32) a. Sangga na-gana-pa tolumpae ngana ne-to'o ri ja'ina,
after R-*enough*-SEQ *three.years child* R-*stay* lc *with.him*
After the child had lived with him for three years,

b. ni-pekutana wo'u-mo kolombio,
GF/R-*ask* *again*-PERF *giant*
the giant asked (GF) *again,*

(33) a. Sangga na-lai-pa kolombio
after R-*go*-SEQ *giant*
After the giant had gone

b. ne-mbangu-mo ngana etu.
R-*got.up*-PERF *child the*
the child got up.

(34) a. Sangga na-taja-pa,
after R-*sharp*-SEQ
After it was sharp (knife),

b. ni-pamula-na-mo ...
GF/R-*begin*-*he*-PERF
he began (GF) ...

3.1.3.1 Summary

In narrative discourse the clitic -mo functions as a pragmatic device available to speakers to mark clauses as especially salient to the story. Its use on foreground clauses helps mark the punctual, completed nature of those events that comprise the backbone, or main event line of the narrative. We shall see this use of -mo marking completed, successive events in Activity Procedural texts as well. Let us now turn to examine that discourse genre.

3.2 Activity genre

Activity genre texts tell how to do something, for example, 'How to make a blowgun', or 'How to make a rice paddy'. What we are calling activity texts here following Reid (1970) with some expansion, is different from a strict procedural discourse in that the procedural gives exact directions or instructions on how to do a certain thing. Procedural texts are often characterised by many imperatives in chronological order. 'Do this first. Then do this. Then do that', and so on. Activity texts on the other hand tell how something is

customarily done. 'How we make blowguns', 'How we make a house', and so on. They are linked chronologically focusing on time intervals rather than elapsed time. In Da'a these types of texts do not use imperatives. They are not a recipe type text giving exact instructions on how to perform a certain task. This distinction between strict procedural as opposed to activity texts is relevant to our discussion here of focus and mood, as a strict procedural would use imperatives while these Da'a activity texts make use of the irrealis actor and goal focus affixes.

In Da'a it is further helpful to distinguish two types of activity text. TYPE I activity texts centre attention on an object being made such as a drum, blowgun, or house. These use G-Foc/IRR affixes on predicates. TYPE II activity texts tell how a person performs a particular activity such as how to make a rice paddy, or how a young man proposes marriage. These texts utilise A-Foc affixes on those foreground clauses that make up the backbone of the text telling what steps are to be undertaken. Background material uses G-Foc as we shall see. Both Type I and Type II activity texts have frequent use of recapitulation of foreground clause to link the discourse tightly together. This serves to highlight the chronological steps that are undertaken which are one of the essential features of this kind of text. Activity texts follow the pattern below:

	FOREGROUND	BACKGROUND
(35)	a. Do (A).	
		b. FINISH (A) (-mo).
	c. THEN do (B).	
		d. FINISH (B) (-mo).
	e. THEN do (C).	

There are minor variations to this but the pattern is consistently used to link activity discourses of both Type I and Type II tightly together. In these types of texts foreground material is the steps of the activity being carried out. Background material is the recapitulation for linkage, explanations or qualifications added to make the activity clearer.

Let us now look at the role of focus and mood affixes in these two kinds of activity texts, and then further examine the role played by Perfective -mo.

3.2.1 Mood selection in activity discourse

In both types of activity discourse irrealis forms are used almost without exception. In the case of Type I texts the object to be made is not yet made, not yet real. Such texts are staged as hypothetical as opposed to factual accounts of the actual making of a specific object in time and space. These type discourses typically begin, "Ane kita mo-wia ..." *"If we*(incl) *make* (IRR) ...". The subsequent text is NOT telling how a real event took place. It is telling what the customary way of making something is. Thus irrealis forms are used. Similarly in Type II texts what is related is how a customary activity is carried out by someone. These texts typically begin with, "Ane kita ..." *"If we*(incl) *DO X* (IRR) ...". Thus these are not actual accounts of how Joe Smith did X, but are treated as hypothetical situations, not yet real. These texts too utilise irrealis affixes.

The only exception to the almost exclusive use of irrealis in activity texts reveals an interesting aspect of the communication process and creative use of syntactic devices to mark this. In relative clauses referring back to actions that must occur prior to the step being described, realis forms are used, not irrealis as everywhere else. Even though this is still a hypothetical, not yet *real* event in the real referential world, realis marks an action as *prior*. It must be real before further steps can be performed. Da'a marks this prior necessary event or step with realis in contrast to irrealis elsewhere to show this relationship. The example below illustrates this use of realis in relative clauses. (36) is a fragment from a text on making a blowgun. First it describes how the bamboo for the inner layer is straightened by heating, and cut to size. Then:

(36) Pade ra-suaraka ri umba tinana to ni-patani-ta na-bete sakedi.
then GF/IRR-*insert where outer.case* RM GF/R-*aside-we* R-*big a.little*
Then it is inserted (IRR) *into the outer casing (which is) a bit bigger* (REAL), *which has been set aside* (REAL) *by us*(incl).

In this step before the inner layer of bamboo can be inserted (ra-suaraka) into the outer casing (tina-na) that outer casing must logically first have been prepared and set aside (ni-patani-ta). This necessary prior step is marked as prior by realis ni- instead of irrealis ra- as in all other verbs in this text.

Similarly in (37) in describing making a drum, realis is used to mark an action which must be completed prior to the step being described. After getting the right kind of wood, a hole is made right through the middle. Then it is set aside to dry. Then:

(37)a. Ane ma-ngau-mo kayu etu
if IRR-*dry*-PERF *wood the*
If the wood is dry

b. pade ra-ala-ta kulimba nu bando to na-mate-na,
the GF/IRR-*get-we hide of dwarf.buffalo* RM R-*dead* ...
then we get (GF/IRR) *the hide of a dwarf buffalo that is dead* (R)

c. ra-koyo nu ladi mpakabelo
GF/IRR-*slice by knife carefully*
be sliced (GF/IRR) *with a knife carefully*

d. ra-ukuru mpakisintoto ante kayu to ni-bolo etu panea.
GF/IRR-*measure make.even with wood* RM GF/R-*hole the earlier*
be measured (GF/IRR) *to make even with the wood which was holed* (GF/R) *earlier.*

In (37b) logically the dwarf buffalo must be dead (na-mate) before its hide can be taken to be made into a drum head. And in (37d) it is measured and made an appropriate size for the hole in the wood. That hole has to be made before the skin can be measured and cut to the right size. Here again realis ni-bolo *be holed*, marks an action that must logically occur prior to the action of measuring the hide to be made into the head of the drum.[9]

3.2.2 Focus selection in activity texts

We saw in Da'a narratives that SAME OR DIFFERENT actor in successive foreground events was a major factor influencing focus selection. There were further constraints that applied, but same or different actor was a crucial one.

Da'a typically stages activity texts as first person plural discourses, "If we (incl) do X ..." The actor throughout these texts, then, is kita *we*(incl). Thus there will be only one main actor, essentially. The factor of same or different actor then is NOT the salient one in determining focus selection in activity texts as it is in narratives. This illustrates why an adequate recognition of different discourse genre is so crucial to understanding the Da'a focus system.

In the two types of activity texts described above, it is thematic factors that exercise the major influence on what focus is used. Other constraints affect focus, but this is the major one. As we noted above Type I activity texts telling how to make an object like a drum, blowgun or house, logically utilise goal focus affixes, as what is important is the end product, the object, not the actor doing the work. In Type II texts telling how a person carries out a certain task like making a rice paddy or proposing marriage, what is important is the actor's activities to achieve a desired end. As such actor focus affixes are used. We will examine each type of activity text now and illustrate this focus selection process.

3.2.2.1 Type I activity texts - OBJECT MADE

Type I texts are those in which one describes the making of an object that can be seen, felt or handled, such as a blowgun or drum. In these texts G-Foc/IRR affixes predominate, both in foreground and also in background material. In foreground the *only* place A-Foc affixes occur are at major divisions of the procedure or activity being described. In a text on Making a Blowgun, of 19 foreground clauses 16 are G-Foc/IRR, and three are A-Foc/IRR. The three A-Foc forms *all* occur in the phrase kita lau mang-ala ... *we*(incl) *go get* (A-Foc/IRR). Each of these phrases occurs at a point in the description where the makers must go get further material for making the blowgun.

- We go get rattan binding to wrap the blowgun.
- We go get bamboo (for making darts).
- We go get cane for making end plugs for the darts.

Each activity involves going off to gather materials, sometimes from quite a distance away.

In a text about making a house, of 15 foreground clauses 13 are G-Foc/IRR, one is INT/IRR and one is A-Foc/IRR. The text describes the gathering of the various poles and beams needed to make a house. Then the process of actually making the house, the theme of the text, begins with:

(38) Pamulana mo-kae lowu.
beginning AF/IRR-*dig hole*
At the beginning (we) dig the holes.

From here to the end of the text all foreground verbs are G-Foc/IRR.

Here we see that major discourse boundaries, which we saw can trigger A-Foc selection in narratives, have a similar effect in Type I activity texts. It is the one main factor that can cause A-Foc selection in foreground material in the predominantly G-Foc pattern of Type I activity texts.

A-Foc/IRR forms can occur in background material in dependent clauses of purpose. Example (39) is from a text on Making a Drum. After the wood is prepared, the skin of a dwarf buffalo is prepared for the drum head. Rattan binding is

obtained which is inserted into holes in the skin made with a knife, for the purpose of binding up the drum head and making it strong. This purpose clause 'to make strong' uses A-Foc/IRR affixes as illustrated below.

(39) ra-tuki nu lui mom-pakaroso.
GF/IRR-*follow by binding* AF/IRR-*make.strong*
followed by (rattan) binding TO MAKE IT STRONG.

Thus we see that G-Foc predominates in Type I activity texts, with A-Foc being used at major discourse divisions as we saw in narratives, and in dependent clauses in background material. Let us now look at the patterns of focus used in Type II activity texts.

3.2.2.2 Type II activity texts - ACTIVITY PERFORMED

Type II texts are those in which the actions of an actor to achieve a desired end are described, such as Making a Rice Paddy, or Proposing Marriage. As these texts centre on those activities performed by an actor, A-Foc/IRR forms predominate foreground material. This is in marked contrast to Type I activity texts described above, in which G-Foc/IRR forms predominate the foreground. The basic pattern common in Type II texts is that of A-Foc/IRR affixes used on foreground, then a tight linkage through recapitulation of the foregrounded verb with G-Foc/IRR affixes. Perfective -mo frequently tags these background recapitulated clauses and the sequential conjunction pade *then*, is frequently used on the following foreground clauses, moving the discourse along to the next step in the activity. This prototypical pattern is as follows:

FOREGROUND	BACKGROUND
(40)a. Do (A) (AF/IRR).	
	b. FINISH Do (A) (GF/IRR) -mo
c. THEN Do (B) (AF/IRR).	
	d. FINISH Do (B) (GF/IRR) -mo
e. THEN Do (C).	
	f. FINISH Do (C) (GF/IRR) -mo
g. THEN ...	

There are slight variations on the recapitulation in the above pattern where instead of FINISH (ma-opu), one gets ane ma-opu *if finished*, or ane VERB (GF/IRR) -mo *if* VERB -mo, or ane ma-opu pura-mo *if finish all*-mo. But the recapitulation is very typical of activity texts and serves to tightly link each successive step to the one preceding. This is illustrated in the examples below, the beginning sentences in a text about making rice paddies.

FOREGROUND	BACKGROUND
(41)	a. Da'apa no-wia tana mpopae *before* R-*make land rice* *Before making rice paddies*
b. mokolu ruru kita lau mang-ala topanggeniaka agama mom-posambaya. *before first we go* AF/IRR-*get leader religion* AF/IRR-*pray* *first we go get* (AF/IRR) *the religious leader to pray.*	

c. Ma-opu ra-posambaya
IRR-*finish* GF/IRR-*pray*
After praying (GF/IRR)

d. pade mom-pamula-mo kita man-talu.
then AF/IRR-*begin*-PERF *we* IRR-*cut.brush*
then we begin (AF/IRR) *to cut brush* (INT).

e. Ma-opu man-talu etu
IRR-*finish* IRR-*cut.brush the*
After cutting (IRR) *the brush*

f. pade ra-kitanaka kira-kira nte ro-minggu weta ruruna.
then GF/IRR-*let.lie about ... two-weeks that.way first*
then be let lie (GF/IRR) *for about two weeks like that first.*

g. Kira-kira ma-liu-mo ro-minggu,
about IRR-*pass*-PERF *two-weeks*
(When) about two weeks have gone by (IRR),

h. pade kita mom-pamula man-tunju tinalu etu.
then we AF/IRR-*begin* AF/IRR-*burn.off garden that*
then we begin (AF/IRR) *to burn off that garden.*

i. Ma-opu-mo ra-tunju tinalu etu,
IRR-*finish*-PERF GF/IRR-*burn garden that*
After the garden has been burned off (GF/IRR),

j. pade kita mom-pamula mo-tuja jole.
then we AF/IRR-*begin* IRR-*plant corn*
then we begin (AF/IRR) *to plant corn* (IRR).

So we see that Type II activity texts typically use A-Foc/IRR on foreground and G-Foc/IRR on background recapitulated clauses working together to mark the sequential steps of the activity.

When A-Foc/IRR occurs on the background, the exception to the normal use of G-Foc/IRR, it signals *non-sequential* action such as simultaneous action or a flashback to describe a step out of chronological order. So the planned, marked use of focus affixes signals to the hearer that the systematic pattern of sequential steps typical of activity texts, is momentarily being disrupted by non-sequential material. This use of A-Foc/IRR is seen in the following excerpt from a text on making rice paddies.

FOREGROUND BACKGROUND

(42) a. Ra-kita-ta ma-opu pura-mo kawoko ante patua,
GF/IRR-*see-we* IRR-*finish all*-PERF *weeds and stumps*
(When) we see (GF/IRR) *that all the weeds and stumps are gone,*

b. kita mom-popea kangau jole.
we AF/IRR-*wait.for dryness corn*
we wait for (AF/IRR) *the corn's dryness.*

c. Mom-popea kangau jole
AF/IRR-*wait dryness corn*
(While) waiting for the corn's dryness,

d. kita mang-ala kayu ...
we AF/IRR-*get wood*
we get (AF/IRR) *wood ...*

In (42b) A-Foc/IRR is used on foreground kita mom-popea kangau jole *we wait for the corn's dryness*. Then in the background recapitulation in (42c) we get NOT G-Foc as is the expected pattern, but A-Foc, mom-popea ka-ngau jole-ta etu ... *waiting for our corn's dryness* .... This use of A-Foc rather than G-Foc is because (42c) and (42d) are *simultaneous actions*, not sequential. While waiting for the corn to get dry (which takes some time) we begin again to look for wood (to build a work hut). Thus A-Foc on the recapitulated background, which is not the expected form, tags non-sequential actions. The illustration below further shows this use of A-Foc.

FOREGROUND BACKGROUND

(43) a. Ane ma-ria-mo pupu,
if IRR-*have*-PERF *fertiliser*
If have (IRR) *fertiliser*

b. kita mom-pamula momba-nawu pupu etu.
we AF/IRR-*begin* AF/IRR-*fall fertiliser the*
we begin (AF/IRR) *to apply the fertiliser.*

c. Da'apa kita momba-nawu pupu etu
before we AF/IRR-*fall fertiliser that*
Before we apply (AF/IRR) *the fertiliser*

d. kita mom-paresa tombi kalawata etu
we AF/IRR-*inspect room paddy that*
we inspect (AF/IRR) *the paddy*

e. bara ma-ria ma-bongga.
maybe IRR-*be* IRR-*leak*
maybe there is (IRR) *a leak.*

The action in (43d) is out of sequence. The speaker backs up a step to insert a step that must occur before the fertiliser can be applied, that is, inspecting the paddy to see if there are any leaks. Otherwise the fertiliser would be wasted as it would only flow out of the paddy via the leak. The recapitulated verb in (43c) is A-Foc, momba-nawu NOT G-Foc ra-nawu, as it is marking a non-sequential action. All other recapitulated transitive verbs on the background of the entire text are G-Foc/IRR except for those noted in (42c) and (43d) above. This marked use of A-Foc on background in Type II activity texts signals a break in the strict sequential pattern for non-sequential steps to be described.

3.2.3 Perfective -mo in activity texts

As has been pointed out the prototypical pattern of Da'a activity texts is that of tight discourse linkage by means of repetition of the foreground clause introduced by a formulaic expression like FINISH or IF FINISHED. In a high percentage of such recapitulated phrases perfective -mo is also used. This clitic helps mark the sequential steps to be performed in an activity. The recapitulated clause and -mo signals "when (X) is completed -mo, then the next step can be performed". Although the activity texts are staged in irrealis, the perfective clitic -mo marks what *will have to be completed* for the next step in the activity to be performed. We have seen perfective -mo used in narratives on realis foreground events helping signal the completed, punctual nature of those events which make up the backbone of narratives. Now here we see irrealis forms

on background material tagged with the same perfective -mo. The common ground between these two uses of -mo is marking completed, sequential actions. Both narrative and activity texts have chronological sequence as an essential element of the discourse. Punctual, realis verbs on foreground mark these sequential events that form the backbone of narratives. -mo further reinforces this in narratives. Those sequential steps to be followed in an activity text make up the foreground material. -mo on background recapitulated clauses marks the necessary completion of those steps or events that move the activity discourse along. The frequent use of the phrase ma-opu PREDICATE -mo *finish* PREDICATE -mo highlights this perfectivity. A must occur before B can be done. Perfective -mo functions in both genre to mark this element of completedness. Those non-sequential recapitulated clauses illustrated in examples (42) and (43) that used A-Foc rather than G-Foc, do NOT have perfective -mo. This is because to do so would be a contradiction of the basic function of -mo in these texts of marking those activities as completed.

3.3 Expository genre

Expository discourse aims to inform. It comprises descriptions, explanations, evaluations, and comments. It is NOT time-oriented as are narrative and activity discourses. Rather it is *subject matter* oriented. The backbone or foregrounded material of expository texts consists of *topics* rather than sequential events or steps in an activity. There is generally an overall topic identifiable at the beginning and then important points are noted and elaborated on as seems fitting to the purpose of the speaker. These topics are usually expressed in nominal phrases. There are often hypothetical and/or factual examples and illustrations to support the points being made. Rather than chronological linkage, expository texts have *logical* linkage. Background material consists of reasons, conditions, comments and amplifications. With time not focal in expository texts, there is no specific tense orientation such as is found in narrative and activity texts. Rather, various tenses emerge depending on the nature of the subject matter being explained (Longacre 1972, 1976).

3.3.1 Mood selection in expository discourse

The choice of realis or irrealis in expository texts is not predetermined by discourse genre alone. The use of these forms depends rather on the content as well as the speaker's choice of how to describe something. When a speaker refers to actual happenings in his exposition of a topic, these will, logically, be marked realis. Thus for example in a text explaining about the yearly government grant to villages to help in development programs, the speaker uses realis to refer to the government's actions. These references to real, actual events are predictably realis. The sentences below illustrate this.

(44) Pomorenta nomba-wai petulungi-na ka purapura ngata.
government AF/R-*give help-its to all villages*
The government gives (R) *its help to all villages.*

(45) Etu sabana pomorenta nompe-rapi, pade nan-jarumaka purapura kapala
that reason government AF/R-*ask and* AF/R-*hopes all headmen*

desa kana mom-powia polibu.
village must AF/IRR-*make meeting*

That's the reason that the government requests (R) *and hopes* (R) *all village headmen will hold a village discussion ...*

(46) Jadi pomorenta nomba-wai ponaranga ala todea-todea ri ngata-ngata
so government AF/R-*give explanation so people*-pl *in village*-pl

etu da'a ma-sesa gaga ...
the not IRR-*difficult too*
So the government gives (R) *an explanation so that the people in those villages will not be in too difficult a situation ...*

In the three sentences above, realis verbs are used on the main verbs, nomba-wai, nompe-rapi, nan-jarumaka, and nomba-wai, as these are things actually done by the government that are here being explained by the speaker. So real, actual happenings are marked realis.

What a speaker considers to be real and factual is expressed by realis forms. This can be seen in the following illustration from a text describing the dwarf buffalo, an animal unique to Sulawesi.

(47)a. Tandu-na nosi-sala nte tandu rusa, bando.
horns-it R/REC-*different from horns deer buffalo*
Its horns are different (R) *from the horns of deer, the dwarf buffalo.*

b. Da'a ria no-rangga, na-noa na-taja.
not ... R-*branched* R-*straight* R-*sharp*
They are not branched (R), *they are straight* (R), *sharp* (R).

c. Ranggayu ri ba'ana na-dea.
in. forest lc *above* R-*many*
In the forest above, there are many (R).

d. Ana-na na-mala ni-raga nu asu.
young-its R-*can* GF/R-*chase by dog*
Its young can be (R) *chased* (R) *by dogs.*

e. Na-mala wo'u kulimba-na ni-ala nipo-gimba.
R-*can too hide-its* GF/R-*take* GF/R-*be.made.drum*
Its hide can (R) *also be taken* (R) *and be made into a drum* (R).

In this example all predicates are realis. This lets the hearer know that, according to the speaker, this is commonly accepted knowledge, or fact, even though in at least one case one might consider certain things not yet real. In the last clause, nipo-gimba *be made into a drum* is certainly not referring to a definite, specific, real drum made from a particular dwarf buffalo hide. Yet the speaker sees this as common fact, general truth. In the Da'a area drum heads are made from dwarf buffalo hides. They are the best, and toughest, and they last the longest. So in his description the speaker uses realis forms. This says essentially, "I the speaker consider this to be true, a fact", or "We all know that this is true".

In support of points being made in an expository discourse a speaker may cite factual examples referring to things that have actually occurred. As we noted in (44-47) above, realis affixes mark those as real, actual. On the other hand the speaker may choose to illustrate his point with hypothetical illustrations. "If such and such happens, this is the result". In using such a strategy the speaker is NOT referring to actual happenings that in fact produced a certain result. But use of hypothetical examples is an effective way of illustrating a point. Da'a commonly introduces such illustrations with "Ane ..." *"If ...",*

and marks the verbs with irrealis forms. One of the pragmatically powerful features of the realis/irrealis system is that it allows the speaker to indicate his view of the matter being described, whether he considers it to be fact, whether he considers it to be true or not. Even in the midst of a purely hypothetical illustration a speaker can still signal that he considers something to be true, by using realis forms.

This can be seen in the example below. In the text on the government grant to villages the writer describes a hypothetical situation to illustrate the importance of knowing the purpose for the village grant. He tells what *could* or *might* happen if the money were not properly invested, and was only used to buy a generator or chainsaw. If there is no one who knows how to fix these should something go wrong, the machines would seen be of no use. In the segment below the speaker is definitely describing a hypothetical situation, introduced by ane rapana *if supposing.* Yet he marks certain clauses or points he feels are TRUE, through the use of na-tantu *certainly.* This is a pragmatic signal saying in effect, "I the speaker think this is an obvious truth". Realis forms help emphasise this opinion.

(48)a. Ane rapana ma-ria masinana ma-gero nau aga sakedi poindo etu
if suppose IRR-*is machine* IRR-*broken even only little light the*

mana ma-jela.
no.more IRR-*shine*
If supposing the machine breaks (IRR) *even just a little, the lights will no longer shine* (IRR).

b. Wa'a wo'u garagaji masina.
that.way too saw machine
That's the way too with a chainsaw.

c. Ane ma-gero masinana, na-tantu mana ma-mala ra-pake.
if IRR-*broken machine* R-*certainly no.more* IRR-*can* GF/R-*use*
If its engine breaks (IRR) *certainly* (R) *it will no longer be able* (IRR) *to be used* (IRR).

d. Na-tantu-mo etu purapura kana ra-boliaka ri ara njapo.
R-*certain*-PERF *that all must* GF/IRR-*kept inside house*
Certainly (R) *that all must be stored* (IRR) *in the house.*

e. Na-tantu ma-gero wa'a-mo.
R-*certainly* IRR-*broken like.that*-PERF
Certainly (R) *it will just be broken* (IRR) *like that.*

f. Doi bantua desa etu na-opu wa'a-mo, da'a mana me-umba.
money help village the R-*gone like.that*-PERF *no more* IRR-*arise*
The village aid money is gone (R) *like that, it will no more appear.*

Realis forms on na-tantu (48c, d and e) and na-opu (48f) signal that those clauses are felt by the speaker to be true, not just speculation or hypothetical. He does NOT say the money will be gone ma-opu, but is gone (FACT), na-opu.

In PURPOSE CLAUSES introduced by ala *so that* or sometimes supaya (Indonesian loan) *so that*, irrealis verbs are used exclusively. This can be seen below.

(49) Patuju nu pomorenta, petulungi-na etu mom-paka-sadia ngata-ngata
purpose of government help-its that AF/IRR-*make-ready villages*

ri Indonesia e'i, ala ma-mala meka-nggore mboto ri eo nggapurina.
in Indonesia this so.that IRR-*able.to* IRR-*stand.on own in day later*

The purpose of the government is that its aid will prepare (IRR) *the villages in Indonesia so that they can* (IRR) *stand* (IRR) *on their own in the future.*

(50) Etu pura-pura ma-mala rapo-balu ala ma-ria doi.
that all IRR-*can* GF/IRR-*sell so.that* IRR-*be money*
That can (IRR) *all be sold* (IRR) *so that there will be* (IRR) *money.*

Expository texts frequently use illustrations to support the points being made. A very common pattern is to use hypothetical illustrations based on a condition. "If this is the case ... this will be the result". In Da'a these clauses introduced by ane *if* take irrealis forms in the condition.

(51) Ane ma-oro ta'ina, lau mang-elo powia ntau.
if IRR-*hungry stomach go* AF/IRR-*look.for crops people*
If he is hungry (IRR) *he goes to look for* (IRR) *people's crops.*

(52) Ane ma-uja ma-romba, mo-wia jumu rampimpi.
if IRR-*rain* IRR-*hard* IRR-*make bed in.grass*
If it rains hard (IRR) *he makes* (IRR) *a bed in the grass.*

The action following the condition may be irrealis as above, mang-elo, mo-wia or realis. The speaker can choose to mark a point being made as FACT according to his view by using realis, or keep it a hypothetical example of what *might* happen, by using irrealis.

So we can see that choice of mood in expository discourse depends to a large degree on the content of what is being talked about and on the speaker's decisions as to how to explain and illustrate the main points comprising the text. There is not as strict a discourse control exercised over mood selection in expository genre as we saw in narrative and activity genre. There is more opportunity for the speaker attutide to be expressed through choice of realis or irrealis forms.

3.3.2 Focus selection in expository discourse

Expository discourse typically has a predominance of stative, equative and descriptive clauses. It is subject matter, not actor oriented and the discourse is carried forward by topics (themes), not events. These features of expository texts influence the use of focus affixes. Expository texts in Da'a have a high percentage of intransitive or stative verbs. For example in one text with 104 verbs, 61 are intransitive or stative, 15 are A-Foc and 28 are G-Foc. In another more brief text describing wild pigs there are 25 verbs, of which 16 are intransitive/stative. Another short text describing a rose apple tree (jambu in Indonesian) has 34 verbs of which 30 are intransitive/stative. Two are reciprocal and only two are transitive. This is a common pattern.

In expository texts the TOPIC of the text must be introduced relatively soon in the story so that the hearer knows what is being talked about. We saw in narratives the three-stage pattern of narrative development from existential Stage I to Stage II initial actions of participants and finally to Stage III development of the plot. Expository discourses introduce the topic in early sentences using existential clauses. The topic is usually a nominal phrase. Then the nature of the topic being described will govern what focus affixes are used.

The choice of SUBJECT MATTER influences focus. One can describe or explain about an inanimate object like a fruit tree. That object, being inanimate, cannot initiate actions. It cannot function as an actor. It can be acted upon by actors, but it cannot act. If a speaker describes primarily the features and characteristics (colour, size, shape, etc.) hardly any transitive verbs will be used. If he describes what people do to the object some transitive verbs will be used. This has a direct effect on the occurrence of focus affixes; G-Foc is used.

Texts describing animate objects, on the other hand, may have a higher occurrence of transitive verbs if the speaker chooses to describe ACTIONS characteristically done by the animal, person, or organisation (like governments which function like animate beings). This affects focus selection as we will see below.

Some of the factors we saw governing focus selection in narratives function in expository texts as well. If a speaker describes an animate object, like an animal, and his description includes characteristic actions by that one animal, the rule of *same actor of successive foreground actions triggers G-Foc* in expository texts, as we saw it do in narratives. This can be seen in the excerpt below, the beginning section in a text describing deer and their characteristic behaviour in the Da'a area.

(53)a. Rusa, inggu-na ntora na-simbayu inggu nu wawu.
deer character-it almost R-*same character of pig*
Deer, its characteristics are almost the same as (R) *that of pigs.*

b. Nang-goni powia ntau.
AF/R-*eat crops people*
(It) eats (AF) *people's crops.*

c. Kadue da'a ria ni-koni-na.
taro not GF/R-*eat-he*
Taro, it does not eat (GF).

d. Ntoloku aga tawana ni-koni-na.
sweet.potato only leaves GF/R-*eat-he*
Sweet potato, only its leaves it eats (GF).

e. Jole, pae, ntora na-sasimbayu nte wawu.
corn rice almost R-*same as pig*
Corn, rice, almost the same as (R) *pigs.*

f. Kasubi, tawana ni-koni-na.
cassava leaves GF/R-*eat-he*
Cassava, its leaves it eats (GF).

g. Da'a ria ma-dota mang-goni isina
not IRR-*want* AF/IRR-*eat tuber*
It does not want (IRR) *to eat* (AF) *the tuber*

h. aga ni-rebu-na, ni-kuku-na dewa jara.
only GF/R-*pull.out-he* GF/R-*eat.grass-he like horse*
(that) it only pulls out (GF) *it eats grass* (GF) *like a horse.*

In (53a), the initial sentence in this text, the topic is introduced, rusa *deer*. The deer is being compared with wild pigs, the topic of the previous section in this series of mini discourses on forest animals. The deer are like pigs in that they eat people's crops. The initial action described in (53b) nang-goni *eat*, is actor focus, then in (53c, d and f) G-Foc verbs are used, ni-koni-na *it*

eats (GF/R), as the speaker describes successive actions of the deer, what crops are eaten and what crops are not eaten. (53g), mang-goni *eat* (AF/IRR) is a dependent verb following ma-dota *want* (IRR), much like an infinitive, *want to eat*. And then (53h) is again G-Foc, ni-rebu-na *it pulls up* (GF/R), ni-kuku-na *it eats grass* (GF/R). In these clauses the actor is the deer throughout. G-Foc verbs are used, as the actor of successive actions is the same.

In narratives we saw if the actor is *unspecifiable*, not relevant to the idea being expressed, G-Foc is used. This is true of expository texts as well and in fact is quite frequently found. As noted above expository texts are NOT actor oriented. Actors of transitive verbs are often NOT specified, as what is relevant are the various points being made regarding the theme or topic of the discourse. These verbs will be G-Foc, as actor is unspecified. The example below is from a text on government grants for village development.

(54)a. Ane kola bau bulawa, todea mompo-wia kola rapompa-tuwu bau bulawa.
as.for pond fish gold people AF/IRR-*make pond* GF/IRR-*raise fish gold*
As for gold fish ponds, people make (AF/IRR) *ponds for the purpose of raising gold fish.*

b. Ma-bete bau etu, pade rapo-balu ma-mala momba-rata doi.
IRR-*big fish the then* GF/IRR-*sell* IRR-*can* AF/IRR-*get money*
When the fish are big (IRR), *and (they) are sold* (GF/IRR), *(people) can get* (AF/IRR) *money.*

c. Tapi ne'e rapo-balu pura.
but don't GF/IRR-*sell all*
But don't sell them all.

d. Kana ra-boli tinana pade bara sakuya mba'a tuamana, ala ane mo-ana,
must GF/IRR-*save female and several* ncl *male so if* IRR-*child*

etu rapaka-bete bali wo'u-mo.
that GF/IRR-*make.big again too*-PERF
The females and several males must be saved (GF/IRR) *so that if/when they reproduce* (IRR) *those can be made big again.*

In (54a) the local topic is introduced, kola bau bulawa *gold fish pond.* This is one of three main uses of the village grant money described by the writer of this text. The G-Foc in (54a) rapompa-tuwu *for the purpose of raising*, explains the purpose of the pond. In (54b) rapo-balu *be sold* (GF) has no specific actor. The writer is simply saying "When the fish are big and then sold they can get money". Who sells them is irrelevant to the discussion at this point. What is important is they can be sold to get a return on the village grant money. In (54c), ne'e rapo-balu *don't sell*, is a prohibition, in Da'a obligatorily marked with G-Foc/IRR. And in (54d) kana ra-boli *must be saved* is an exhortation, also obligatorily marked G-Foc/IRR on transitive verbs. (See section 3.4 for further discussion of this morphological constraint of Da'a.) Then the final verb in (54d) rapaka-bete *be made big (be raised till big)* is G-Foc as the actor is again unspecified. So we see that specifiability of actor effects choice of focus in expository texts as it does in narratives.

There are instances where actor IS specified but G-Foc forms are used. This occurs where the theme at that point in the text is object, not actor. In such cases although there is an overt, specified actor, G-Foc is used because what is thematic, what is the focus of the point being made, is object. In the example below this can be seen. This selection is the closing of the text about the government grants to villages. The writer here is explaining why he wrote the text.

(55)a. E'i-mo sakedi pantesa ewa batuana doi to ni-ulika (Petulungi
this-PERF *little talk about meaning money* RM GF/R-*say help*

Pomorenta).
government
This is a little story about the meaning of the money called HELP TO VILLAGES (government help).

b. Kami nan-tulisi e'i ri ara basa Da'a, ala ma-mala ra-njani
we AF/R-*write this* lc *in language Da'a so* IRR-*can* GF/IRR-*understand*

tau purapura topobasa Da'a ne-to'o ri buluna.
people all speakers Da'a R-*live in mountains*
We wrote (AF/R) *this in the Da'a language so that (it) can* (IRR) *be understood* (GF/IRR) *by all the Da'a speakers (who) live in the mountains.*

c. Perapi doa ala ma-mala ra-njani ira.
request pray that IRR-*can* GF/IRR-*understand they*
Hopefully (it) can be (IRR) *understood* (GF/IRR) *by them.*

(55a) reiterates the topic of the whole text, the money called 'Help to Villages'. In (55b) ra-njani *be understood* (GF) has a specified actor, tau purapura topobasa Da'a ne-to'o ri buluna *all the Da'a speaking people (who) live in the mountains.* (55c) also has a specified actor, ira *they*, referring to the Da'a speaking people in the mountains again. These two clauses are NOT A-Foc, but rather are G-Foc because the theme being talked about at this point in the text is the PURPOSE of the writing of this text. The writer hopes that the explanation he has given about the government grant to villages can be understood by all the Da'a speaking people who live in the mountains. He hopes it can be understood by them, because one day those grants will no longer be given. The actors, the Da'a folk in the mountains, are NOT the theme or the pivotal element of this sentence; the explanation that has been written is. This object being the theme here triggers G-Foc, even though there is an overt, specified actor in the clause.

For A-Foc to occur in expository texts, there must be a specified *actor* in the clause. And further, that actor's actions must be what is being talked about, what is thematic, or the pivotal element of that portion of the discourse. This can be seen in the example below taken from the text on government grants to villages.

(56) Pomorenta nomba-wai petulungi-na ka purapura ngata ri njumaongu
government AF/R-*give help-its to all village* lc *all*

Indonesia.
Indonesia
The government gives (AF/R) *its help to all the villages in all Indonesia.*

(57) Ante iwetu pomorenta nan-jarumaka petulungi-na etu.
with that government AF/R-*hopes help-its that*
With that the government has high hopes (AF/R) *for its help.*

(58) Etu sabana pomorenta nom-perapi pade nan-jarumaka purapura kapala
that reason government AF/R-*asks and* AF/R-*hope all headmen*

desa pade ketua LKMD kana mompo-wia polibu ante purapura
village and head LKMD must AF/IRR-*make discussion with all*

todea ri ara ngata etu.
people lc *in village that*

That's the reason the government asks (AF) *and hopes that all village headmen and the chairmen of the LKMD (Village Development Councils) will hold discussions* (AF) *with all the people in the village.*

In each of the above sentences the actor is overtly specified, in (56) pomorenta *government*,`(57) pomorenta *government*, (58) pomorenta *government*, kapala desa pade ketua LKMD *village headmen and chairmen of the Village Development Councils.* In each sentence the actions of those actors is what is pivotal to the sentence. This triggers A-Foc affixes on the transitive verbs used.

So we see that focus selection in expository texts is governed by rules like some of those we saw at work in narrative texts. By nature expository texts are more descriptive, explanatory, and hence tend to have a high percentage of stative or intransitive verbs. On those transitive verbs which do occur G-Foc is used on successive actions of one actor. Unspecified actor similarly triggers G-Foc. A-Foc occurs where actor is specified and the actions of that actor are the theme or pivotal element of the sentence. When the theme of the passage is an object, not an actor's actions, G-Foc forms are used. The subject matter being described has much to say about which focus is used.

3.3.3 Perfective -mo in expository discourse

In narrative and activity genre with chronological orientation, time is important and the completion of events or steps in an activity are essential elements in the progression of the discourse. Expository and hortatory texts are not time oriented. Progression is by *logical* linkage rather than chronological. Perfective -mo functions in narratives and activity texts to help mark those completed, accomplished events or steps which form the backbone of those texts. In expository discourse this use of -mo is predictably absent. The use of -mo in expository texts seems to be limited to those clause level uses such as 'already', or 'imminent action'. A consistent, recognisable pattern of discourse level use of -mo in expository texts has yet to be found in Da'a.

3.4 Hortatory genre

Hortatory discourse, sometimes called behavioural discourse (Peck 1984), is aimed at changing behaviour, getting people to act in certain ways or NOT to act in certain ways. Hortatory texts aim to persuade the hearer to do certain things. Consequently, commands, exhortations, prohibitions, warnings and so on are common features of hortatory texts.

The relative social position of speaker and hearer affects how a hortatory text is staged. If the speaker is in a position of authority over the hearers, such as village headman, elder of the people, religious leader or government official, the discourse will likely have a more direct approach. A younger person exhorting older people or people in a higher social position will very likely mitigate, or soften the tone of his exhortation through various means. Doty (1984) identifies four such mitigating strategies. Words or particles can soften hortatory texts, like "please" in English, or perfective -mo in Da'a. Shifting from the predominantly second person orientation, as in "you do this", to either first person, "let's do this", or third person "people should do this", can also mitigate a command. Being less direct by saying what *should* be done, but not saying that it should be done by the hearer is another softer way to persuade. And

finally hidden imperatives that don't even say what should be done, but have an implied imperative are the most mitigated form of hortatory texts. "I'm hungry" in the right context implies "Get me some food!"

The attitude of the speaker affects mitigation as well. If he is angry or upset, we can expect *less* mitigation than might otherwise be the case. A village headman, angry that more people did not show up for a community work project, will have a less mitigated exhortation than one in which he is calm and trying to be his most persuasive. All these factors contribute to the actual final form of the hortatory discourse.

Hortatory texts have logical, not chronological, linkage. They tend to be second person oriented in direct less mitigated forms, have a predominance of imperatives, exhortations, prohibitions, and hortatory clauses. These latter factors have a direct influence on the choice of mood and focus affixes in Da'a as we will see. The exact form of the hortatory clause is influenced in part by the particular nature of Da'a imperatives, exhortations and prohibitions. Then the degree of mitigation will affect the final form of the hortatory clause as well. Let us examine the particular way in which Da'a uses mood, focus and perfective -mo in hortatory discourse.

3.4.1 Mood selection in hortatory discourse

As was noted above, hortatory texts aim to change behaviour, to persuade people to do or NOT to do certain actions. These forms of behaviour being exhorted are NOT YET REALISED, and thus quite logically are irrealis. To fully understand mood selection in Da'a hortatory texts, one must first distinguish three kinds of hortatory clauses: 1) direct imperatives, 2) exhortations, and 3) prohibitions. Each of these three types of clauses has a different affixation strategy. In Da'a, imperatives are marked with IMPERATIVE MOOD affixes. (See Appendix A for a summary of these forms.) This mood is in complementary distribution with realis and irrealis. So for direct imperatives, the imperative mood affixes are used and realis/irrealis is not indicated. For exhortations and prohibitions, irrealis affixes are used. As it turns out direct imperatives are far less common in Da'a hortatory texts than exhortations and prohibitions. This affects not only the incidence of irrealis forms, but also the use of perfective -mo.

Often in hortatory texts hypothetical situations are set up with exhortations as to how the hearer should act in such circumstances. These are, naturally, irrealis, as the behaviour is not yet real. This is seen in example (59) below.

(59) Ane besi ma-ju'a, kana ra-katono mpakabelo.
if woman IRR-*sick must* GF/IRR-*guard carefully*
If (your) wife is sick (IRR) *(she) must be watched over* (IRR) *carefully.*

While imperative and irrealis predominate in hortatory texts, realis forms are used as well. As we saw in expository discourse, a speaker can indicate he considers something to be FACT, or TRUE by using realis forms, even in a basically not yet real situation. Realis says in effect, "I consider this true or acknowledged fact". This use of realis occurs in hortatory texts too.

(60) Kana mu-potowe rongo-mu ewa iko nom-potowe koro-mu.
must you-love wife-your like you AF/R-*love self-your*
You must love (GF) *your wife like you love* (R) *yourself.*

In (60) mu-potowe *you love* is G-Foc, with no mood marked. The action 'love' is the important feature in this clause, not who is doing it. The speaker is saying "you must love (IRR) your wife as you love (R) yourself". The second use of 'love', nom-potowe is realis. This realis form rather than irrealis mom-potowe says, "I the speaker consider it fact that people (including you the hearer) love themselves". This is not hypothetical. It is true according to the speaker and his assessment of the world view shared by his hearer. So realis in hortatory texts can be used to tag those concepts which the speaker considers fact, or general truth.

Prohibitions introduced by ne'e *don't*, all take irrealis forms. The two different types, intransitive and transitive will be illustrated in the next section under focus selection.

3.4.2 Focus selection in hortatory texts

Whether G-Foc or A-Foc is selected in hortatory texts primarily depends on the sentence type used. As noted, direct imperatives have imperative prefixes which do not differentiate A-Foc and G-Foc. Exhortations in Da'a make use of focus affixation in two strategies: Intransitive verbs, as in "You must be diligent!", use INT/IRR affixes, and Transitive verbs, as in "Love your wife!", take G-Foc forms. G-Foc can be marked by ra- or also by using the non-topic agent prefix mu- *you*(sg), which lacks information regarding realis/irrealis.[10] These two strategies in exhortations are illustrated in the examples below.

(61)a. Kana ma-ta'u mangga-wia sou ri ara panggawia.
must IRR-*clever* AF/IRR-*make house* lc *in garden*
You must be skilled (INT) *at making a house* (AF/IRR) *in the garden.*

b. Kana ma-raji mangga-wia, ala ne'e ma-orota'i.
must IRR-*diligent* AF/IRR-*work so won't* IRR-*hungry*
You must be diligent (INT/IRR) *to work* (AF/IRR) *so you won't be hungry* (IRR).

c. Kana iko ma-ta'u ri awu.
must you IRR-*clever in kitchen*
You must be skilled (INT/IRR) *in the kitchen.*

(62)a. Ane besi ma-ju'a kana ra-katono mpakabelo.
if woman IRR-*sick must* GF/IRR-*guard carefully*
If your wife is sick (IRR) *(she) must be watched over* (GF/IRR) *carefully.*

b. Kana mu-potowe rongo-mu ewa iko nom-potowe koro-mu.
must you-love spouse-you like you AF/R-*love self-you*
You must love (GF) *your spouse like you love* (R) *yourself.*

c. Ane rongo-mu ma-ju'a, kana mu-katono mpakabelo.
if spouse-you IRR-*sick must you-guard carefully*
If your spouse is sick (INT/IRR) *she must be watched over* (GF/IRR) *carefully.*

In (61) intransitive verbs are INT/IRR, (61a and c) ma-ta'u *skilled* and (61b) ma-raji *diligent*. The dependent verb mangga-wia *to work* uses A-Foc/IRR affixes, like we saw in narrative texts. In (62) where transitive verbs are used G-Foc/IRR prefixes are used as in (62a) ra-katono *guard* (GF), or G-Foc marked by non-topic agent prefix mu- *you* as in (62b), mu-potowe *you love* or (62c) mu-katono *you guard.*

Prohibitions exhort the hearer NOT to have certain characteristics or NOT to do certain actions. Da'a morphology again has two strategies based on transitivity for these as it has with exhortations. Prohibitions expressed with intransitive verbs use INT/IRR affixes as in Ne'e ma-lau! *Don't go!* Prohibitions expressed with transitive verbs use G-Foc/IRR forms as in Ne'e ra-koni etu! *Don't eat* (GF) *that!* Or the non-topic agent prefix mu- can be used. The following examples further illustrate these two types of prohibitions.

(63)a. Ne'e iko ma-sina.
don't you IRR-*stingy*
Don't be stingy (INT/IRR).

b. Ne'e iko mo-siri.
don't you IRR-*covetous*
Don't be covetous (INT/IRR).

c. Ne'e iko ma-sanjayo.
don't you IRR-*wander.around*
Don't go wandering around (INT/IRR).

In (63) the intransitive verbs are all INT/IRR, ma-sina *stingy*, mo-siri *covetous*, and ma-sanjayo *wander around.* In (64) below transitive verbs are used.

(64)a. Ne'e ra-pakasempa besi.
don't GF/IRR-*cause.to.be.clothingless woman*
Don't make your wife be clothingless (GF/IRR).

b. Ane rongo-mu ma-ju'a, kana mu-katono mpakabelo, ne'e mu-palasi.
if spouse-you IRR-*sick must you-guard carefully don't you-leave*
If your spouse is sick (INT/IRR) *you must watch over* (GF) *him carefully, don't leave him* (GF).

In (64) the transitive verbs in prohibitions are G-Foc/IRR (64a) ra-pakasempa *cause to be clothingless*, or marked G-Foc via non-topic agent prefix mu- as in (64b) mu-palasi *you leave (him).*

So focus in hortatory texts is controlled by clause type, with varying strategies depending on whether direct imperatives, exhortations or prohibitions are used. And within those basic parameters, the transitivity of the verb also affects focus choice.

3.4.3 Perfective -mo in hortatory discourse

Perfective -mo is little used in hortatory discourse in Da'a. One of its functions pointed out in Section 2 is to soften or mitigate direct imperatives. Thus ala *take it* is more harsh than the more mitigated ala-mo *take it.* However, we noted that hortatory texts generally have a much greater incidence of exhortations and prohibitions than direct imperatives. Exhortations and prohibitions cannot take perfective -mo. Thus the following examples are unacceptable.

(65)a. *Ne'e me-sua-mo!
don't IRR-*enter*-PERF
**Don't enter*-mo!

b. *Ne'e ra-koni-mo etu!
don't IRR-*eat*-PERF *that*
**Don't eat*-mo *that!*

These factors result in a very low occurrence of -mo in hortatory texts. One of the few places one finds -mo in hortatory texts is in formulaic closure phrases such as below, the closing sentence in a hortatory text on advice to a newly married couple.

(66) Sudu se'i-mo tesa pepatuduki ka tau lako mon-jamboko bou.
up.to here-PERF *word teaching to people just* AF/IRR-*pair new*
This is the end of the advice to people just newly married (lit. *become a new couple*).

This formulaic way of ending a discourse uses -mo, but in those hortatory clauses in hortatory discourse, -mo is rarely used. Its main function is to slightly mitigate direct imperatives.

4. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

4.1 Summary of mood choice in discourse

In the above discussion we noted the following major points concerning choice of mood in discourse.

NARRATIVE TEXTS. Realis is used on foreground, marking those real, actual events that took place in actual elapsed time. Those more hypothetical, collateral elements on the background of the discourse are characteristically marked irrealis as they are not part of the real world experience being related that happened. They are those elements that did not happen or will happen should certain conditions be fulfilled.

ACTIVITY TEXTS. Activity texts are projected time, not accounts of actual activity in elapsed time. Therefore these are typically irrealis in Da'a. They are staged as hypothetical situations, Ane kita mo-wia sopu ... *If we*(incl) *make a blowgun* ... this is how we do it. Though predominantly irrealis, realis forms are brought into use in relative clauses referring back to steps that must logically have occurred before the step being described can occur.

EXPOSITORY TEXTS. Expository texts are less formally structured than narrative and activity texts in Da'a. There is thus less influence from the overall discourse structure itself, and more from the content and the speaker's choice of how to talk about his topic. What a speaker considers FACT he can mark with realis. Hypothetical situations described to make a point are logically irrealis.

HORTATORY TEXTS. Hortatory texts aim to bring about behaviour not yet real or actualised. As such, irrealis is the logical choice for these types of texts. Direct imperatives take imperative mood affixes rather than either realis or irrealis. Exhortations and prohibitions use irrealis G-Foc forms. Realis can be used to indicate those concepts which the speaker considers to be FACT or TRUE.

4.2 Summary of focus choice in discourse

The following is a summary of those major aspects affecting focus choice in various discourse genre.

NARRATIVE TEXTS. In narratives we saw the most variety of factors affecting focus selection. The general pattern of narrative development from existential Stage I to initial action in Stage II and on to developmental actions in Stage III exert some influence on focus choice in the different basic stages of the narrative. Initial stages tend to have more intransitive or stative verbs which do not have actor or goal focus marked. Later stages tend to have more transitive verbs as the story is developed. These verb forms differentiate focus. Same actor on successive foreground events is an important factor triggering G-Foc selection. Shift of foreground action back and forth between two or more actors triggers A-Foc affixes. So the number of major actors affects the occurrence of actor vs. goal focus, as many actors initiating action on the foreground will trigger a much higher incidence of A-Foc forms. If an actor is unspecifiable G-Foc is logically used. At major discourse boundaries A-Foc occurs, even where G-Foc would be expected based on the *same actor on successive foreground events rule*. Further, the introduction of new props or minor participants in an ongoing discourse will be signalled by A-Foc. Finally, focus can be used to help indicate levels of theme in discourse.

ACTIVITY TEXTS. We saw two types of activity texts. Type I texts describe an object being made and use G-Foc. Type II texts describe an actor's actions to achieve a given end, and use A-Foc on foreground. In Type I texts, A-Foc occurs *only* at major divisions in the procedure or activity, while Type II texts use G-Foc on background recapitulation for discourse cohesion reiterating those ordered steps that make up the essence of the texts.

EXPOSITORY TEXTS. In expository texts subject matter and speaker's choice as to how to stage a text have the most effect on focus selection. There are fewer structural influences simply as a result of discourse genre on expository texts than on narrative and activity texts. Because descriptions, not actions of an actor predominate expository texts, the majority of clauses are intransitive or stative, and as such not marked for focus. What is being talked about, object or actor, influences focus choice.

HORTATORY TEXTS. The morphological constraints on hortatory clauses have the most effect on focus selection. Direct imperatives are unmarked for focus, while exhortations and prohibitions use G-Foc affixes.

The following chart summarises major patterns in choice of mood and focus affixes.

Focus and mood in Da'a discourse - summary chart

DISCOURSE TYPE	MOOD DECLARATIVE Realis	Irrealis	IMPER.	FOCUS A-FOC	G-FOC
NARRATIVE	BACKBONE	Background	--	Shift in Actor on BACKBONE	Same Actor on BACKBONE
ACTIVITY TYPE I	--	BACKBONE	--	--	BACKBONE
ACTIVITY TYPE II	--	BACKBONE	--	BACKBONE	Background
EXPOSITORY	Fact	Hypothetical	--	Actor is THEME	Object is THEME
HORTATORY	Fact, Truth	BACKBONE Prohibitions	BACKBONE Commands	Dependent Clauses	BACKBONE Prohibitions Exhortations

4.3 Summary of use of perfective -mo in discourse

NARRATIVE TEXTS. In narratives -mo is used to tag completed, accomplished foreground events considered by the speaker to be key to the story in the sense that without them the story would not make complete sense. Different narrators may tag different events with -mo depending on their view of what is considered to be central to the story.

ACTIVITY TEXTS. Perfective -mo is recruited in irrealis activity texts on recapitulated clauses to help mark what will have to be completed for the next step in the activity to be performed. The strong chronological orientation of activity texts influences this use of -mo, as it is precisely that chronological linkage which -mo helps mark.

EXPOSITORY TEXTS. The discourse level use of perfective -mo is largely absent from expository texts. Local clause level uses such as meaning 'already' and so on are found, but higher level uses are very limited. Expository texts are subject matter, not time oriented and linked through logical connection of ideas rather than time. So the use of -mo seen in narratives and activity texts marking those completed (or to be completed, in the case of activity texts) events or steps on the foreground is absent in expository genre.

HORTATORY TEXTS. Perfective -mo is little used in hortatory texts which share the features of logical linkage and subject matter orientation of expository texts. It does serve to mitigate direct imperatives, but these hortatory forms are rare in Da'a hortatory texts as a whole.

The chart below summarises these facts about the use of perfective -mo in Da'a discourse.

Perfective -mo in Da'a discourse - summary chart

DISCOURSE TYPE	FUNCTION OF -mo
NARRATIVE	Key BACKBONE events
ACTIVITY I	Recapitulation of successive steps
ACTIVITY II	Recapitulation of successive steps
EXPOSITORY	Rare
HORTATORY	Mitigates direct imperatives

4.4 Conclusions

We began this paper asking the basic questions, "What governs choice of focus and mood in Da'a discourse?" and, "What influence do different discourse genres have in those choices?" We noted Longacre's comment that once a discourse type is chosen, many decisions as to structure of very small parts of it are already made. We wanted to see the extent to which that is true of Da'a.

We have seen that choice of discourse genre does affect mood affixation. Narratives logically use a preponderance of realis forms, while activity, expository and hortatory texts tend to prefer irrealis as a whole. The speaker's choice and attitudes influence as well, as we saw that in predominantly irrealis texts a speaker can mark by realis forms what he views as fact or generally established truth. How a speaker chooses to stage his discourse affects mood as well. He can for example choose to mitigate his hortatory discourse through various strategies depending on his attitude and relative social status to his hearers.

In looking at focus affixes we saw that discourse structure affected focus choice too. The various stages of narrative development have some influence on the occurrence of actor vs. goal focus. Major discourse boundaries affect focus selection in narratives and, to a lesser degree, in activity texts. Number of participants in a narrative influences the occurrence of actor or goal focus, as does introduction of props and minor participants. Thematic prominence in discourse can affect focus selection too.

The basic notion of what is TOPIC or theme in the sense of 'what is being talked about' affects focus. We saw that when objects are the things being talked about G-Foc often occurs, while A-Foc forms occur frequently when actors are being talked about. This is obvious, but still a basic factor in the choice of focus affixes.

Speaker choice on how to stage a text influences focus choice too. This is constrained by the basic morphological patterns of the verbal system. For example we saw that in hortatory texts direct imperatives take imperative affixes, unmarked for focus, while exhortations and prohibitions use G-Foc. There are language-specific constraints on the choices a speaker makes in staging his discourse. Yet he still has choices. If he chooses to mitigate his hortatory discourse, focus choice is again affected as he might use less direct imperatives, exhortations or prohibitions and use a more hidden or opaque strategy.

Perfective -mo is a morphosyntactic tool in the hands of Da'a speakers to help the hearer zero in on what is being targeted in a discourse. In narrative and

hortatory discourse with strong chronological linkage it helps tag that important element of *sequentiality* of events or activity so important to the flow of those types of discourses. With expository and hortatory texts this occurs much less, partly governed by the fact that they are NOT chronologically linked.

In summary we can say there IS definite evidence in Da'a that choice of discourse genre partly determines choices of focus, mood and perfective -mo. We have seen that the degree of influence varies. Narrative and activity texts seem to have more definite general patterns than do expository and hortatory texts.

Discourse is ultimately not just mechanical, but is a dynamic process in which a speaker communicates ideas to hearers. The speaker's choices are rich and varied as to how he communicates those ideas. His attitude toward events, ideas, his hearers and himself affect what focus and mood affixes he will use. What he chooses to talk about and the relative priority or ranking he gives ideas, participants and objects in his communication will affect choices in verbal affixes too.

Along with all this there are basic language-specific grammatical rules or constraints that affect focus and mood. How a prohibition is encoded in Da'a is a language specific feature that happens to involve matters such as transitivity of the verb.

As Longacre has noted, the choice of a particular discourse type will have a significant effect on the actual shape of the clauses in those discourses. But the Da'a speaker still has much freedom in how he communicates. Focus, mood and perfective -mo are three very productive and pragmatically important devices available to Da'a speakers as they express themselves. The speaker is ultimately still king, but the constraints we have seen are the rules under which he reigns.

APPENDIX A: SUMMARY OF FOCUS AND MOOD AFFIXATION

Da'a has several stem-forming affixes which produce the following basic stem types.

Stem formation affixes[11]

STEM-FORMING PREFIXES	ROOT	STEM-FORMING SUFFIXES	RESULTING STEM TYPE	EXAMPLES
ka-			Affective Stative Stems	ka-belo
pa- pe- po-			Transitive Stem (pa- also causative)	pa-ro'o pe-koni po-ngiri
pa-ka- (pa-causative on ka-stem)			Causative Affective Stem	pa-ka-belo

Stem form affixes (cont'd)

		-raka -saka -taka -naka -aka	Suffix Derived Transitive Stem	sua-raka nawu-saka wia-taka liu-naka goli-aka
po-pa- po-pe- po-po-			Causative Stem (po- on stems formed by pa-, pe-, po-)	po-pa-na'u po-pe-nggore po-po-koni
ki-			Transitive Requestive Stem	ki-keni
pe-ki-			Bitransitive Requestive Stem (pe- on stem formed by ki-)	pe-ki-keni

Roots alone, or the above derived stems can be inflected for focus, mood and aspect. Two focuses are marked: actor focus (A-Foc) and goal focus (G-Foc). Two moods are also marked by verbal affixes: declarative, which is further divided into two categories realis, irrealis; and imperative. Then several aspects can be marked: reciprocal and multiple actors (si); non-volitional (nati-/mati-); reflexive (notiN-/motiN-); pretense (neti-/meti-); and purpose (nipo-/rapo-). Certain of these can be combined to give a combination of features all marked in the verbal affixation. These various affixes in combination with the basic stem types pictured above are illustrated in the chart below.

Focus, mood and aspect affixation in Da'a - summary chart[12]

FEATURE	REALIS	IRREALIS
STATIVE	na-	ma-
INTRANSITIVE	na-/ne-/no-	ma-/me-/mo-
INTRANSITIVE AFFECTIVE	neka-	meka-
CAUSATIVE AFFECTIVE A-Foc	nompaka-	mompaka-
CAUSATIVE AFFECTIVE G-Foc	nipaka-	rapaka-
TRANSITIVE A-Foc (Prefix Derived Stems)	naN-/neN-/noN-/ nomba-/nompa-/ nompe-/nompo-	maN-/meN-/moN-/ momba-/mompa-/ mompe-/mompo-
TRANSITIVE G-Foc	ni-/nipa-/nipe-/ nipo-	ra-/rapa-/rape-/ rapo-

Focus, mood and aspect affixation (cont'd)

TRANSITIVE A-Foc (Suffix Derived Stems)	na- -raka ne- -saka no- -taka naN- -naka nomba- -aka	ma- -raka me- -saka mo- -taka maN- -naka momba- -aka
TRANSITIVE G-Foc (Suffix Derived Stems)	ni- -raka -saka -taka -naka -aka	ra- -raka -saka -taka -naka -aka
REQUESTIVE A-Foc	neki-/nompeki-	meki-/mompeki-
REQUESTIVE G-Foc	nipeki-	rapeki-
CAUSATIVE (Action) A-Foc	nompopa- nompope- nompopo-	mompopa- mompope- mompopo-
CAUSATIVE (Action) G-Foc	nipopa-/nipope-/ nipopo-	rapopa-/rapope-/ rapopo-
RECIPROCAL A-Foc	nosi-/nomposi-	mosi-/momposi-
RECIPROCAL G-Foc	niposi-	raposi-
NON-VOLITIONAL	nati-	mati-
REFLEXIVE	notiN-	motiN-
PRETENSE	neti-	meti-
PURPOSE	nipo-/nipomba-	rapo-/rapomba-
RECIPROCAL AFFECTIVE A-Foc	nosipaka-	mosipaka-
RECIPROCAL AFFECTIVE G-Foc	niposipaka-	raposipaka-
RECIPROCAL TRANS. AF (Prefix Derived)	nomposipa-/ nosipe-/nosipo-	momposipa-/ mosipe-mosipo-
RECIPROCAL TRANS. GF (Prefix Derived)	niposipa-/ niposipe-	raposipa-/ raposipe-
RECIPROCAL TRANS. AF (Suffix Derived)	nosi- -raka -saka -taka -naka -aka	mosi- -raka -saka -taka -naka -aka
RECIPROCAL TRANS. GF (Suffix Derived)	niposi- -raka -saka -taka -naka -aka	raposi- -raka -saka -taka -naka -aka
RECIPROCAL CAUSATIVE	nosipopa- nosipope- nosipopo-	mosipopa- mosipope- mosipopo-
RECIPROCAL REQUESTIVE	nosipeki-	mosipeki-

Imperative affixes[13]

STEM/ASPECT	COMMANDS	PROHIBITIONS	
		Intransitive A-FOC/IRR	Transitive G-FOC/IRR
BASIC FORM	pa-/pe-/po- 0 paN-/peN-/poN-	ma-/me-/mo-	ra-
DERIVED AFFECTIVE	peka-	meka-	raka-
CAUSATIVE AFFECTIVE	paka-		rapaka-
TRANSITIVE (Prefix)	pa-/pe-/po-[14]		rapa-/rape-/ rapo-
TRANSITIVE (Suffix)	ROOT + -raka -saka -taka -naka -aka		ra- -raka -saka -taka -naka -aka
REQUESTIVE	peki-	meki-	rapeki-
CAUSATIVE	popa-/pope-/ popo-		rapopa-/rapope- rapopo-
RECIPROCAL	posi-	mosi-	raposi-
PRETENSE	peti-	meti-	
RECIPROCAL AFFECTIVE	posipaka-		raposipaka-
RECIPROCAL TRANSITIVE (Prefix)	posipa- posipe- posipo-		raposipa- raposipe- raposipo-
RECIPROCAL TRANSITIVE (Suffix)	posi- -raka -saka -taka -naka -aka	mosi- -raka -saka -taka -naka -aka	raposi- -raka -saka -taka -naka -aka
RECIPROCAL CAUSATIVE	posipopa- posipope- posipopo-	mosipopa-	
RECIPROCAL REQUESTIVE	posipeki-	mosipeki-	raposipeki-

APPENDIX B: TEXTS CONSULTED

TEXT	AUTHOR	ORAL/WRITTEN	VILLAGE
NARRATIVE TEXTS			
The Giant and the Orphan	Timotius Lasipi	Written	Wayu
Yule	Gidion Likenono	Oral	Dombu
Lisa, Tuma and Kutu Go Hunting	Gidion Likenono	Oral	Dombu
The Lion and the Cat	Timotius Lasipi	Written	Wayu
The Horse's Horns are Given to the Deer	Gidion Likenono	Written	Dombu
The Tarsius and the Hawk	Timotius Lasipi	Written	Wayu
The Tarsius and the Monkey	Daniel Yulisia	Written	Dombu
The Toad and the Prince	Matius Kanangudju	Written	Dombu
A History of Maranata Village	Samuel Sayo	Written	Maranata
ACTIVITY TEXTS			
How to Make a Blowgun	Gidion Likenono	Oral	Dombu
How to Make a Drum	Gidion Likenono	Written	Dombu
How to Make a House	Gidion Likenono	Written	Dombu
How to Make a Rice Paddy	Daniel Yulisia	Written	Dombu
How a Young Man Proposes Marriage	Gidion Likenono	Written	Dombu
An Example of How to Plant Cloves	Timotius Lasipi	Written	Wayu
EXPOSITORY TEXTS			
Government Grant to Villages	Samuel Sayo	Written	Maranata
Animals of the Forest (collection of stories about 9 animals and 10 different birds)	Gidion Likenono	Written	Dombu
Jambu Trees	Gidion Likenono	Written	Dombu

Coconut and Sago Palms	Gidion Likenono	Written	Dombu
Diseases of Plants	Gidion Likenono	Written	Dombu
Durian	Gidion Likenono	Written	Dombu
HORTATORY TEXT			
Advice to Newly Married Couples	Samuel Sayo	Written	Maranata

ABBREVIATIONS USED

AF	Actor Focus (in examples)
A-Foc	Actor Focus (in text of paper)
AN	Austronesian
con	Continuous (reduplicated)
GF	Goal Focus (in examples)
G-Foc	Goal Focus (in text)
IMP	Imperative
INT	Intransitive
IRR	Irrealis Mood
lc	location particle ri
ncl	numeral classifier
nm	nominaliser
O	Object
PERF	Perfective
pl	Plural (reduplicated)
pm	person marker
R	Realis Mood (in examples)
REAL	Realis Mood (in text)
REC	Reciprocal Aspect
RM	Relative Marker
S	Subject
SEQ	Sequential Marker
V	Verb

NOTES

[1]Da'a (Pakawa) is one of at least seven dialects of Kaili, an Austronesian language spoken in Central Sulawesi, Indonesia, by approximately 300,000 speakers (Wumbu 1973, Barr, Barr, Salombe 1979). The Da'a dialect is spoken by approximately 30,000 people living primarily in the Marawola and Biromaru Districts of Donggala Regency. Research for this paper was carried out under the auspices of the Cooperative Program between Hasanuddin University and the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Research was done primarily in Dombu village, Marawola District, and Maranata village, a resettlement village of Da'a people in Biromaru District from July 1979 to November 1981 and January 1983 to June 1986. I would like to thank Dr Charles Peck for his kind help in the preparation of this paper. Thanks also to the following for their helpful comments and critique on an earlier draft of the paper: Michael Martens, Martha Martens, Bob Busenitz and Marilyn Busenitz.

The phonemes of Da'a are as follows: (letters in parentheses represent how the phonemes are represented in the paper) p, t, k, ʔ ('), b, d, g, j, v (w), s, m, n, ŋ (ng), mp, nt, mb, nd, ŋg (ngg), nj, l, r, y, i, e, a, o, u.

[2] The different vowels a, e, o occur with separate verb classes and do not, to my present knowledge, serve to differentiate meaning. In the related Uma (Pipikoro) language there are affixes me-/pe- which have an attemptive sense of "trying to do X". While isolated Da'a examples can be analysed as having such a meaning, there is no clear pattern to this.

[3] For a more detailed description of these features see Barr 1983, 1988a, and 1988b.

[4] It is possible in Da'a to tell a story using irrealis forms in place of the more expected realis. This has a similar effect to English "historical present" and draws the hearer more deeply into the narrative as if it were occurring right then at the time of the narration.

[5] While in some senses 'begin' seems intransitive, in Da'a it is affixed with transitive affixes, either A-Foc mom-/nom- or G-Foc ni-/ra-.

[6] Lightbody (1984) in establishing rules for focus selection in Sangire of the southern Philippines states that "the more *thematic* item will be chosen for focus if more than one is possible. It may be a global thematic participant, prop or concept, or it may be a local thematic participant, prop or concept." In related Sangihe, Maryott (1977) notes there is usually a theme for each paragraph in the discourse. The speaker would try to keep that theme in focus throughout the paragraph. At other times he will select the item for focus because it is *thematic to the entire discourse.*

[7] Hopper (1977) points out a similar use of the particle -lah in old Malay. He cites a short but complete narrative in which the six clauses marked with -lah "provide a synopsis of the dynamic line of the episode in the sense that without them the story would be unintelligible. They are successive events, each one dependent on the completion of the preceding one" (p.17). In Central Sulawesi the Uma (Pipikoro) language to the south of Da'a has a cognate clitic -mi with variants -ma and -mo. This clitic has come to be recruited as a pragmatically salient signal by which Uma speakers keep their hearers on track as to what is being TARGETED in the flow of ongoing discourse (Gregerson and Martens 1986).

[8] Interestingly, of those 14 A-Foc uses of -mo, eight are on the verb 'begin'. This verb is frequently used in texts with chronological orientation (narratives and activity procedural texts). It seems to be used as a kind of "semantic punctuation" to highlight the initiating of successive events on the foreground of texts.

[9] A similar use of realis to mark a necessarily prior step has been reported in the Taa dialect of Bare'e (Pamona) in Central Sulawesi (Rosengren 1986). In neighbouring Sabah, East Malaysia, the Tatana language has a similar pattern as well. Non-completive verbs (like Da'a irrealis) carry the backbone of the procedure while completive verbs (like Da'a realis) are used on flashbacks referring to events that happened prior to the step being described (Pekkanen 1984).

[10] In closely related Uma (Pipikoro) the *only* available strategy for indicating goal focus is by means of non-topic agent prefixes. Uma has all person and number while Da'a has only first and second person singular (Martens 1988).

	DA'A	UMA	
	sg.	sg.	pl.
1	ku-	ku-	ta- (incl)
			ki- (excl)
2	mu-	nu-	ni-
3		na-	ra-

[11] See Barr 1988b for full description of these affixes.

[12] See Barr 1988b for fuller treatment of these affixes with examples.

[13] See Barr 1988b for fuller discussion of imperatives.

[14] These are homophonous with stem forming prefixes pa-/pe-/po-, but function in a separate, distinct manner.

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PHONOLOGY OF DA'A, CENTRAL SULAWESI

Donald F. Barr and Sharon G. Barr

1. INTRODUCTION

Da'a is one of the dialects of the Kaili language which is spoken by a total of ±290,000 speakers in Central Sulawesi. Kaili speakers live in the main Palu River valley of western Central Sulawesi province, the mountains to the south, east and west of this valley, as well as along the coast north of Palu and along the coast of Tomini Bay, east of Palu (see map). Kaili has long been the major language of Central Sulawesi, in particular the Palu (Ledo) dialect, which can be heard spoken in many government offices in Palu, the capital of Central Sulawesi.

There are at least seven major dialects of Kaili, with numerous subdialects. These are listed by the Department of Education and Culture of Central Sulawesi (Wumbu 1973, Team Prasurvai Kebundayaan 1976) as follows: (population figures from Barr, Barr with Salombe 1979).

Palu (Ledo)	±128,000
Banava (Unde)	±20,000
Pekava (Da'a/Inde/Tado)	±32,000
Tawaili-Sindue (Rai)	±55,000
Parigi (Tara)	±43,000
Sigi (Ija)	±7,500
Kulawi (Moma)	±5,500

Kaili is classified as a member of the Austronesian Language Family, South-west Indonesian Group, West Toradja Subgroup (Salzner 1960). More recent publications refer to the Toradja Subgroup (West and East) as Kaili-Pamona, a term more acceptable to the local population (Wumbu 1973, Barr, Barr with Salombe 1979).

The present study covers the Pekava (Da'a) dialect of Kaili and is based on a corpus of approximately 2,000 words. This data was gathered from September 1979 to May 1980, in the village of Dombu, Marawola Subdistrict (Kecamatan). While various people assisted, Mr Gidion Likenono contributed a large share of the data for the present paper.[1]

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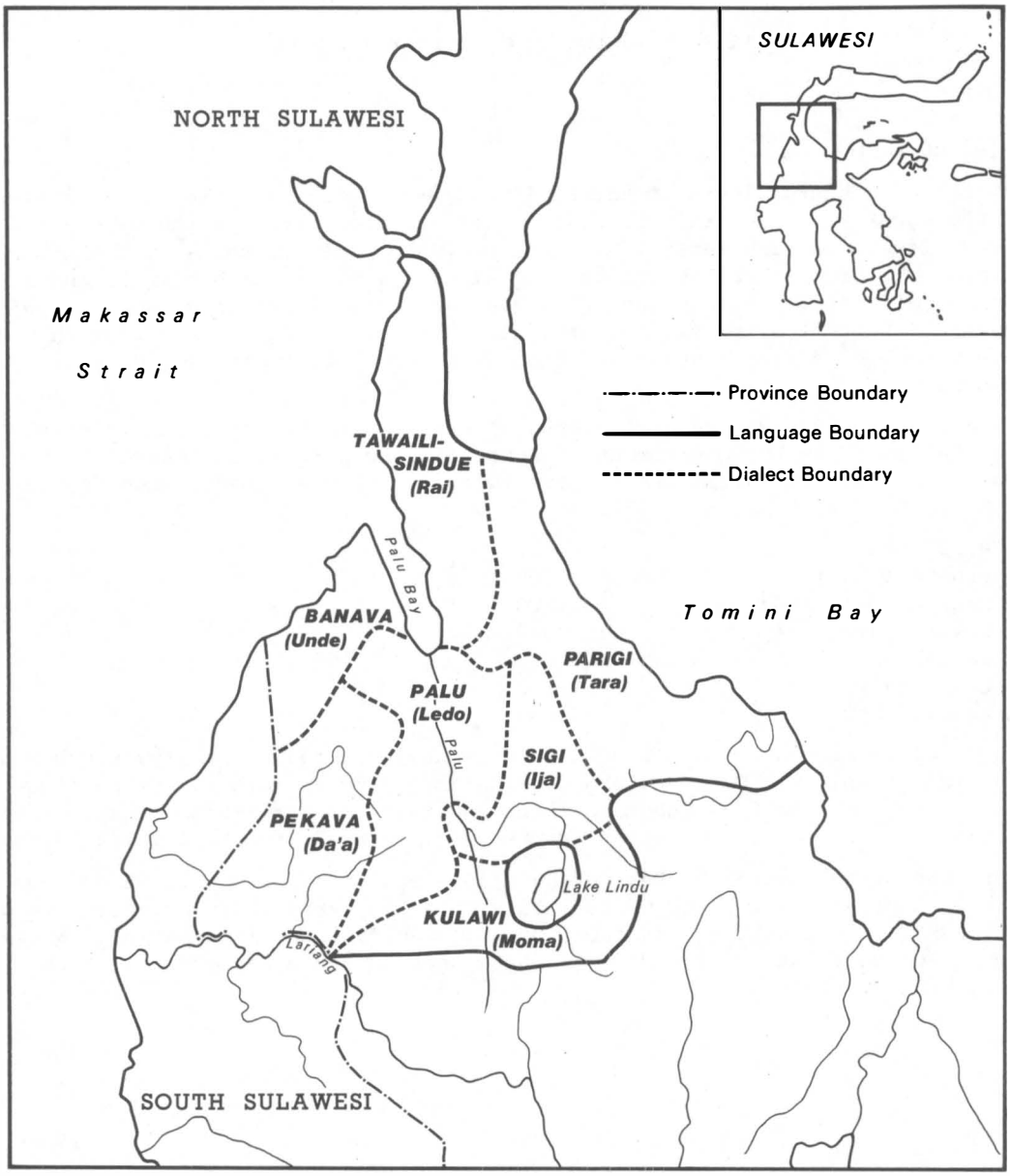

Map: Dialects of Kaili

2. SEGMENTALS

2.1 Phoneme chart

CONSONANTS

	Labial	Linguals: Front	Linguals: Back	Glottal
Stops				
vd.	b	d	g	
vl.	p	t	k	ʔ
Prenasalised Stops				
vd.	mb	nd	ŋg	
vl.	mp	nt		
Spirants				
vd.	v	j		
vl.		s		
Prenasalised Spirants				
vd.		nj		
Nasals	m	n	ŋ	
Liquids		l	r	
Semivowels			y	

VOWELS

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

2.2 Interpretation

2.2.1 Consonant vs. vowel

The semivowel y is interpreted to function as a consonant, not a vowel. There are virtually no unambiguous three-vowel sequences. From a corpus of over 2,000 words, only one example is found, and this is across a morpheme boundary: na+ue+mo mata+na *his eyes watered.* Thus in sequences of [V^{i}V], [^{i}] is interpreted as functioning as a consonant, y. [ma'nja^{i}o] is thus interpreted as [ma'njayo] *will walk around*, and similarly ['da^{i}o] is interpreted as ['dayo] *grave.*

2.2.2 Sequence vs. unit

No unambiguous CC patterns exist in Da'a. Therefore all CC sequences (mb, mp, nd, nt, nj, and ng) are interpreted as single phoneme units.

2.3 Description of consonant phonemes

2.3.1 Realisation of consonant phonemes

/b/ [b] voiced bilabial stop

['babe]	/babe/	*machete*
[ta'boyo]	/taboyo/	*squash*

/p/ [p] voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop

['pone]	/pone/	*climb up*
['apu]	/apu/	*fire*

/d/ [d] voiced alveolar stop

['dayo]	/dayo/	*grave*
['ladi]	/ladi/	*knife*

/t/ [t] voiceless unaspirated alveolar stop

['tana]	/tana/	*land, earth*
['mata]	/mata/	*eye*

/g/ [g] voiced velar stop

['gaga]	/gaga/	*invite*
['aga]	/aga/	*only*

/k/ [k] voiceless unaspirated velar stop

['kana]	/kana/	*must*
['aka]	/aka/	*Sunday*

/ʔ/ [ʔ] voiceless glottal stop

['daʔa]	/daʔa/	*no, not*

NOTE: There is free variation between word initial [ʔ] and [Ø], as in

['inu] ~ ['ʔinu]	/inu/	*drink*

/mb/ [mb] voiced prenasalised bilabial stop

['mboto]	/mboto/	*self*
['sumba]	/sumba/	*mouth*

/mp/ [mp] voiceless prenasalised bilabial stop

['mpuʔu]	/mpuʔu/	*very*
[sa'mpulu]	/sampulu/	*ten*

/nd/ [nd] voiced prenasalised alveolar stop

['ndoro]	/ndoro/	*worm*
['indo]	/indo/	*mother*

/nt/ [nt] voiceless prenasalised alveolar stop

['ntoto]	/ntoto/	*very*
[sa'ntipa]	/santipa/	*one week*

/ŋg/ [ŋg] voiced prenasalised velar stop

['ŋga]	/ŋga/	*from*
[pe'maŋgi]	/pemaŋgi/	*hoe*

/nj/ [nj] voiced prenasalised alveolar affricate

['njani]	/njani/	*know*
[sa'njobu]	/sanjobu/	*one thousand*

/v/ [v] voiced labio-dental fricative

['vuku]	/vuku/	*bone*
['tava]	/tava/	*leaf*

/s/ [s] voiceless alveolar fricative
['sani] /sani/ *mosquito*
['ose] /ose/ *rice (husked)*

/j/ [j] voiced alveolar affricate
['jono] /jono/ *grass*
['kaja] /kaja/ *difficult*

/m/ [m] voiced bilabial nasal
['mata] /mata/ *eye*
['kami] /kami/ *we* (excl)

/n/ [n] voiced alveolar nasal
[na'ria] /naria/ *there is*
['pone] /pone/ *climb up*

/ŋ/ [ŋ] voiced velar nasal
['ŋana] /ŋana/ *child*
['oŋe] /oŋe/ *nose*

/l/ [l] voiced alveolar lateral
['lomu] /lomu/ *fat* (n.)
['uli] /uli/ *say*

/r/ [r̃] voiced apico-alveolar trill
[ɾ] voiced apico-alveolar flap
[ɡ] voiced velar fricative
['r̃aɾa] ∿ ['ɾaɾa] ∿ ['ɡaɡa] /rara/ *inside*
['baɾa] ∿ ['baɾa] ∿ ['baɡa] /bara/ *perhaps*

/y/ [i̯] voiced palatal semivowel
['i̯ovi] /yovi/ *yesterday*
['nai̯a] /naya/ *shy*

MARGINAL PHONEMES. The phonemes /č/ and /nč/, present in other Kaili dialects, do not occur in Da'a. A few loans from Indonesian retain these sounds, as in /bončis/ (Indonesian) → /bonči/ (Da'a). But the common pattern is for /č/ to become /s/, as in /čamat/ (Indonesian) → /sama/ (Da'a) *subdistrict officer*, or /čolo/ (Ledo) → /solo/ (Da'a) *matches*.

2.4 Consonant phonemes - contrasts

/b/ voiced labial stop

/b/ vs. /p/	/bone/ *sand*	/taba/ *kind of tree*
	/pone/ *climb*	/tapa/ *dry*
/b/ vs. /mb/	/ba/ *perhaps*	/taba/ *kind of tree*
	/mba/ *where*	/tamba/ *chop in small pieces*
/b/ vs. /mp/	/buʔu/ *new banana bud*	/sabu/ *soap*
	/mpuʔu/ *very*	/sampu/ *sharpen*
/b/ vs. /v/	/bulu/ *mountain*	/taba/ *kind of tree*
	/vulu/ *hair, fur*	/tava/ *leaf*
/b/ vs. /m/	/bata/ *stem of plant*	/saba/ *problem*
	/mata/ *eye*	/sama/ *bridle*

/p/ voiceless labial stop

/p/ vs. /b/	see under /b/ above	
/p/ vs. /mb/	/poto/ *wood frame for hearth* /mboto/ *self*	/tapa/ *dry* /tamba/ *chop in small pieces*
/p/ vs. /mp/	/pae/ *rice (in field)* /mpae/ *year*	/sopu/ *blowgun* /sompu/ *wrapped in grave clothes*
/p/ vs. /v/	/pua/ *day before yesterday* /vua/ *betel nut*	/apu/ *fire* /avu/ *ashes*
/p/ vs. /m/	/pone/ *climb* /mone/ *hoarse*	/lopu/ *fall (of rotten fruit)* /lomu/ *fat* (n.)

/d/ voiced front lingual stop

/d/ vs. /t/	/dumpa/ *carved ornament on gable* /tumpa/ *frog*	/kada/ *foot* /kata/ *scratch*
/d/ vs. /nd/	/dea/ *many* /ndea/ *young girl*	/pada/ *kind of grass* /panda/ *reed (pandanus)*
/d/ vs. /nt/	/dani/ *a name* /ntani/ *other*	/tudu/ *measure river depth* /tuntu/ *history story*
/d/ vs. /nj/	/dani/ *a name* /njani/ *know*	/bada/ *face powder* /banja/ *coconut bud*
/d/ vs. /s/	/doi/ *money* /soi/ *name of a river*	/narodo/ *stiff in fear* /naroso/ *strong*
/d/ vs. /j/	/doi/ *money* /joi/ *honest*	/kada/ *foot* /kaja/ *difficult*
/d/ vs. /n/	/daya/ *kind of grass* /naya/ *shy*	/kada/ *foot* /kana/ *must*
/d/ vs. /l/	/dana/ *a name* /lana/ *kerosene*	/sada/ *small piece left* /sala/ *wrong*
/d/ vs. /r/	/dano/ *kind of banana* /rano/ *lake*	/nadamba/ *happy* /naramba/ *beautiful*
/d/ vs. /y/	/dana/ *a name* /yana/ *a name*	/nada/ *a name* /naya/ *shy*

/t/ voiceless front lingual stop

/t/ vs. /d/	see under /d/ above	
/t/ vs. /nd/	/toro/ *turn* /ndoro/ *worm*	/ito/ *pupil of eye* /indo/ *mother*
/t/ vs. /nt/	/tipa/ *time* /ntipa/ *week*	/titi/ *duck* /tinti/ *hour*
/t/ vs. /nj/	/tani/ *stay alone* /njani/ *know*	/bata/ *stem* /banja/ *coconut bud*
/t/ vs. /s/	/tero/ *diarrhoea* /sero/ *shovel*	/naboto/ *crushed with teeth* /naboso/ *full (stomach)*
/t/ vs. /j/	/tapi/ *but, winnow* /japi/ *cow*	/kata/ *scratch* /kaja/ *difficult*
/t/ vs. /n/	/tana/ *land* /nana/ *pus*	/ata/ *roof* /ana/ *child*

/t/ vs. /l/ /tana/ *land* /uti/ *penis*
/lana/ *kerosene* /uli/ *say*

/t/ vs. /r/ /tara/ *look at* /ata/ *roof*
/rara/ *inside* /ara/ *in*

/t/ vs. /y/ /tana/ *land* /doŋato/ *kind of edible plant*
/yana/ *a name* /ŋayo/ *in front of*

/t/ vs. /ʔ/ /koto/ *broken*
/koʔo/ *hard*

/g/ voiced back lingual stop

/g/ vs. /k/ /gata/ *rubber band* /aga/ *only*
/kata/ *scratch* /aka/ *Sunday*

/g/ vs. /ŋg/ /gana/ *enough* /baga/ *fight*
/ŋgana/ *right (side)* /baŋga/ *village name*

/g/ vs. /ŋ/ /gana/ *enough* /nagana/ *be enough*
/ŋana/ *child* /naŋana/ *be small*

/g/ vs. /ʔ/ /gaga/ *invite*
/gaʔa/ *divorce*

/k/ voiceless back lingual stop

/k/ vs. /g/ see under /g/ above

/k/ vs. /ŋg/ /ka/ *to, for* /nakuni/ *yellow*
/ŋga/ *from* /naŋguni/ *very yellow*

/k/ vs. /ŋ/ /kana/ *must* /nalaka/ *gap*
/ŋana/ *child* /nalaŋa/ *tall*

/k/ vs. /ʔ/ /paka/ *cause*
/paʔa/ *chisel*

/ʔ/ voiceless glottal stop

/ʔ/ vs. /k/ see under /k/ above

/ʔ/ vs. /g/ see under /g/ above

/ʔ/ vs. /ŋg/ /baʔa/ *above*
/baŋga/ *village name*

/ʔ/ vs. /ŋ/ /baʔa/ *above*
/baŋa/ *coconut shell bowl*

/mb/ voiced prenasalised labial stop

/mb/ vs. /b/ see under /b/ above

/mb/ vs. /p/ see under /p/ above

/mb/ vs. /mp/ /mboto/ *self* /sambula/ *a month*
/mpotove/ *love* /sampulu/ *ten*

/mb/ vs. /v/ /mbuku/ *short* /nambuku/ *be short*
/vuku/ *bone* /navuku/ *have many bones*

/mb/ vs. /m/ /mboto/ *self* /sambaʔa/ *one person*
/motoro/ *motorcycle* /sama/ *bridle*

/mp/ voiceless prenasalised labial stop

/mp/ vs. /b/ see under /b/ above

/mp/ vs. /p/ see under /p/ above

/mp/ vs. /mb/ see under /mb/ above

/mp/ vs. /v/ /mpuʔu/ *very* /tumpulaka/ *hit*
/voʔu/ *again* /tuvuna/ *his life*

/mp/ vs. /m/ /mpuʔu/ *very* /sampalai/ *a moment*
/muʔu/ *shrew* /sama/ *bridle*

/nd/ voiced prenasalised front lingual stop

/nd/ vs. /d/ see under /d/ above

/nd/ vs. /t/ see under /t/ above

/nd/ vs. /nt/ /ndoro/ *worm* /mandate/ *long* (irrealis)
/ntoto/ *very* /mantate/ *cut brush*

/nd/ vs. /nj/ /ndate/ *long* /tandoko/ *a trap*
/njani/ *know* /nanjoko/ *hold*

/nd/ vs. /s/ /ndoro/ *worm* /tanda/ *birth mark*
/soro/ *slide, move* /tasa/ *ripe*

/nd/ vs. /j/ /ndoe/ *long* /tanda/ *birth mark*
/joe/ *end* /taja/ *sharp, to pull*

/nd/ vs. /n/ /ndoro/ *worm* /tanda/ *birth mark*
/noro/ *straight* /tana/ *land*

/nd/ vs. /l/ /ndoro/ *worm* /indo/ *mother*
/lomu/ *fat* (n.) /ilo/ *loop in rope*

/nd/ vs. /r/ /ndoro/ *worm* /tanda/ *birth mark*
/roro/ *broil, roast* /tara/ *look at*

/nd/ vs. /y/ /ndoe/ *long* /indo/ *mother*
/yua/ *name* /iyo/ *yes*

/nt/ voiceless prenasalised front lingual stop

/nt/ vs. /d/ see under /d/ above

/nt/ vs. /t/ see under /t/ above

/nt/ vs. /nd/ see under /nd/ above

/nt/ vs. /nj/ /ntani/ *other* /tuntu/ *history story*
/njani/ *know* /tunju/ *burn*

/nt/ vs. /s/ /ntani/ *other* /vuntu/ *end*
/sani/ *mosquito* /vusu/ *dam*

/nt/ vs. /j/ /ntapi/ *ancestors* /tuntu/ *history story*
/japi/ *cow* /tuja/ *plant*

/nt/ vs. /n/ /ntoto/ *very* /tuntu/ *history story*
/noto/ *knowledgeable* /tunu/ *charcoal broil*

/nt/ vs. /l/ /ntapi/ *ancestors* /tinti/ *hour*
/lapi/ *layer* /tili/ *kinky hair*

/nt/ vs. /r/ /ntapi/ *ancestors* /tuntu/ *history story*
/rapi/ *twins* /turu/ *sleep*

/nt/ vs. /y/ /ntuʔa/ *grandparents* /nantalu/ *make garden*
/yua/ *a name* /naya/ *shy*

/ŋg/ voiced prenasalised back lingual stop

/ŋg/ vs. /g/ see under /g/ above

/ŋg/ vs. /k/ see under /k/ above

/ŋg/ vs. /ŋ/ /ŋga/ *from* /baŋga/ *village name*
/ŋana/ *child* /baŋa/ *coconut shell bowl*

/ŋg/ vs. /ʔ/ see under /ʔ/ above

/nj/ voiced prenasalised front lingual spirant

/nj/ vs. /d/ see under /d/ above

/nj/ vs. /t/ see under /t/ above

/nj/ vs. /nd/ see under /nd/ above

/nj/ vs. /nt/ see under /nt/ above

/nj/ vs. /j/ /njani/ *know* /banja/ *coconut bud*
/jani/ *overly punish* /baja/ *knife edge*

/nj/ vs. /s/ /njani/ *know* /banja/ *coconut bud*
/sani/ *mosquito* /basa/ *language*

/nj/ vs. /n/ /njani/ *know* /banja/ *coconut bud*
/nana/ *pus* /bana/ *thread*

/nj/ vs. /l/ /njayo/ *walk around* /banja/ *coconut bud*
/layo/ *black and white* /bala/ *white spot on pig's belly*

/nj/ vs. /r/ /njani/ *know* /banja/ *coconut bud*
/rani/ *tender* /bara/ *perhaps*

/nj/ vs. /y/ /njani/ *know* /nenanja/ *don't want to eat*
/yani/ *a name* /naya/ *shy*

/v/ voiced labial spirant

/v/ vs. /b/ see under /b/ above

/v/ vs. /p/ see under /p/ above

/v/ vs. /mb/ see under /mb/ above

/v/ vs. /mp/ see under /mp/ above

/v/ vs. /m/ /volo/ *bamboo* /tava/ *leaf*
/molo/ *caterpillar* /tama/ *end*

/v/ vs. /s/ /volo/ *bamboo* /tava/ *leaf*
/solo/ *matches* /tasa/ *ripe*

/s/ voiceless front lingual spirant

/s/ vs. /d/ see under /d/ above

/s/ vs. /t/ see under /t/ above

/s/ vs. /nd/ see under /nd/ above

/s/ vs. /nt/ see under /nt/ above

/s/ vs. /nj/ see under /nj/ above

/s/ vs. /j/ /sua/ *enter* /tasa/ *ripe*
/jua/ *a name* /taja/ *pull*

/s/ vs. /n/ /sama/ *bridle* /tasa/ *ripe*
/nama/ *a name* /tana/ *land*

/s/ vs. /l/ /sero/ *shovel* /mesua/ *enter*
/leru/ *wall* /melua/ *vomit*

/s/ vs. /r/ /sara/ *a name* /basa/ *language*
/rara/ *inside* /bara/ *perhaps*

/s/ vs. /y/ /sua/ *enter* /nasa/ *a name*
/yua/ *a name* /naya/ *shy*

/s/ vs. /v/ see under /v/ above

/j/ voiced front lingual spirant

/j/ vs. /d/ see under /d/ above

/j/ vs. /t/ see under /t/ above

/j/ vs. /nd/ see under /nd/ above

/j/ vs. /nt/ see under /nt/ above

/j/ vs. /nj/ see under /nj/ above

/j/ vs. /s/ see under /s/ above

/j/ vs. /n/ /japi/ *cow* /taja/ *pull*
/napi/ *a name* /tana/ *land*

/j/ vs. /l/ /japi/ *cow* /nataja/ *sharp*
/lapi/ *layer* /natala/ *sank*

/j/ vs. /r/ /jara/ *horse* /taja/ *pull*
/rara/ *inside* /tara/ *look at*

/j/ vs. /y/ /japi/ *cow* /naja/ *a name*
/yapi/ *a name* /naya/ *shy*

/m/ voiced labial nasal

/m/ vs. /b/ see under /b/ above

/m/ vs. /p/ see under /p/ above

/m/ vs. /mb/ see under /mb/ above

/m/ vs. /mp/ see under /mp/ above

/m/ vs. /v/ see under /v/ above

/m/ vs. /n/ /maria/ *will have* /sama/ *bridle*
/naria/ *has, had* /sana/ *happy*

/m/ vs. /ŋ/ /mana/ *no more* /sama/ *bridle*
/ŋana/ *child* /saŋa/ *name* (n.)

/n/ voiced front lingual nasal

/n/ vs. /d/ see under /d/ above

/n/ vs. /t/ see under /t/ above

/n/ vs. /nd/ see under /nd/ above

/n/ vs. /nt/ see under /nt/ above

/n/ vs. /nj/ see under /nj/ above

/n/ vs. /j/ see under /j/ above

/n/ vs. /s/ see under /s/ above

/n/ vs. /l/ /nale/ *a name* /sana/ *happy*
/lale/ *a fly* /sala/ *wrong*

/n/ vs. /r/ /noa/ *straight* /bana/ *thread*
/roa/ *friend* /bara/ *perhaps*

/n/ vs. /y/ /nana/ *pus* /nana/ *pus*
/yana/ *a name* /naya/ *shy*

/n/ vs. /m/ see under /m/ above

/n/ vs. /ŋ/ /nana/ *pus* /sana/ *happy*
/ŋana/ *child* /saŋa/ *name* (n.)

/ŋ/ voiced back lingual nasal

/ŋ/ vs. /g/ see under /g/ above

/ŋ/ vs. /k/ see under /k/ above

/ŋ/ vs. /ŋg/ see under /ŋg/ above

/ŋ/ vs. /m/ see under /m/ above

/ŋ/ vs. /n/ see under /n/ above

/ŋ/ vs. /ʔ/ see under /ʔ/ above

/l/ voiced front lingual liquid

/l/ vs. /d/ see under /d/ above

/l/ vs. /t/ see under /t/ above

/l/ vs. /nd/ see under /nd/ above

/l/ vs. /nt/ see under /nt/ above

/l/ vs. /nj/ see under /nj/ above

/l/ vs. /s/ see under /s/ above

/l/ vs. /j/ see under /j/ above

/l/ vs. /n/ see under /n/ above

/l/ vs. /r/ /lapi/ *layer* /bola/ *ball*
/rapi/ *twins* /bora/ *a name*

/l/ vs. /y/ /lua/ *vomit* /nalaŋa/ *tall*
/yua/ *a name* /naya/ *shy*

/r/ voiced back lingual liquid

/r/ vs. /d/	see under /d/ above
/r/ vs. /t/	see under /t/ above
/r/ vs. /nd/	see under /nd/ above
/r/ vs. /nt/	see under /nt/ above
/r/ vs. /nj/	see under /nj/ above
/r/ vs. /s/	see under /s/ above
/r/ vs. /j/	see under /j/ above
/r/ vs. /n/	see under /n/ above
/r/ vs. /l/	see under /l/ above
/r/ vs. /y/	/rapi/ *twins* /narau/ *angry* /yapi/ *a name* /naya/ *shy*

/y/ voiced back lingual semivowel

/y/ vs. /d/	see under /d/ above
/y/ vs. /t/	see under /t/ above
/y/ vs. /nd/	see under /nd/ above
/y/ vs. /nt/	see under /nt/ above
/y/ vs. /nj/	see under /nj/ above
/y/ vs. /s/	see under /s/ above
/y/ vs. /j/	see under /j/ above
/y/ vs. /l/	see under /l/ above
/y/ vs. /r/	see under /r/ above
/y/ vs. /i/	/yamo/ *a name* /iamo/ *it's he!*

2.5 Consonant phonemes - distribution

Any consonant may precede any vowel, with the exception of /y/. /y/ may not precede front vowels /i/ or /e/, except in a few rare loanwords, such as /yisu/ ∿ /yesu/ *Jesus*.

There are no consonant clusters in Da'a.

2.6 Description of vowel phonemes (see chart p.133)

2.6.1 Realisation of vowel phonemes

/i/ [i] voiced high front unrounded vowel

['ini]	/ini/	*sweat*
[ma'ndiu]	/mandiu/	*will bathe*
['ia]	/ia/	*he, she*

/e/ [e] voiced mid front unrounded vowel

['epe]	/epe/	*hear*
['keni]	/keni/	*carry*
['peo]	/peo/	*down below*

/a/ [a] voiced low central unrounded vowel

['apa]	/apa/	*because*
['babe]	/babe/	*machete*
[na'noa]	/nanoa/	*straight*

/o/ [o] voiced mid back rounded vowel

['ose]	/ose/	*rice (husked)*
['bone]	/bone/	*sand*
['sou]	/sou/	*house*

/u/ [u] voiced high back rounded vowel

['uma]	/uma/	*father*
[ka'puna]	/kapuna/	*crocodile*
[me'sua]	/mesua/	*will enter*

2.7 Vowel phonemes - contrasts

/i/ voiced high front unrounded vowel

/i/ vs. /e/ /ira/ *they* /suli/ *expensive*
/era/ *brother/sister-in-law* /sule/ *heart*

/i/ vs. /a/ /inu/ *drink* /ŋina/ *later*
/anu/ *whatchacallit* /ŋana/ *child*

/i/ vs. /o/ /ito/ *pupil of eye* /tomi/ *suck*
/oto/ *car* /tomo/ *heavy*

/i/ vs. /u/ /ita/ *a name* /taʔi/ *faces*
/uta/ *vegetables* /taʔu/ *clever*

/e/ voiced mid front unrounded vowel

/e/ vs. /i/ see under /i/ above

/e/ vs. /a/ /era/ *brother/sister-in-law* /pue/ *Lord*
/ara/ *in* /pua/ *day before yesterday*

/e/ vs. /o/ /eka/ *fear* /keni/ *carry*
/oka/ *a name* /koni/ *eat*

/e/ vs. /u/ /epe/ *hear* /ane/ *if*
/upe/ *mite* /anu/ *whatchacallit*

/a/ voiced low central unrounded vowel

/a/ vs. /i/ see under /i/ above

/a/ vs. /e/ see under /e/ above

/a/ vs. /o/ /aka/ *Sunday* /daya/ *kind of grass*
/oka/ *a name* /dayo/ *grave*

/a/ vs. /u/ /ata/ *roof* /baŋa/ *coconut shell bowl*
/uta/ *vegetable* /buŋa/ *flower*

/o/ voiced mid back rounded vowel

/o/ vs. /i/ see under /i/ above

/o/ vs. /e/ see under /e/ above

/o/ vs. /a/ see under /a/ above

/o/ vs. /u/ /oli/ *buy* /naŋao/ *cat meows*
/uli/ *say* /naŋau/ *dry*

/u/ voiced high back rounded vowel

/u/ vs. /i/ see under /i/ above

/u/ vs. /e/ see under /e/ above

/u/ vs. /a/ see under /a/ above

/u/ vs. /o/ see under /o/ above

2.8 Vowel phonemes - distribution

As mentioned in 2.5 any vowel phoneme may co-occur with any consonant with the exception of /y/, which is not followed by /i/ or /e/.

All vowels may occur in all possible positions with the following exceptions involving a sequence of two vowels:

/i/ and /a/ do not occur in medial VV positions, and
/o/ and /u/ occur in only one of the two positions in VV sequences.

2.8.1 Sequences of vowels

All vowels may occur with all other vowels in sequences of two vowels as illustrated in the examples below:

/ii/	/napii/	*narrow*
/ie/	/tie/	*a name*
/ia/	/nepia/	*when*
/io/	/pakio/	*call*
/iu/	/mandiu/	*will bathe*
/ei/	/ndei/	*young girl*
/ee/	/kuleŋee/	*chicken hawk*
/ea/	/nadea/	*many*
/eo/	/eo/	*day*
/eu/	/kureu/	*kind of bird*
/ai/	/vai/	*give*
/ae/	/mpae/	*year*
/aa/	/taraa/	*pineapple*
/ao/	/dao/	*cat*
/au/	/bau/	*fish*
/oi/	/doi/	*money*
/oe/	/ndoe/	*long*
/oa/	/soa/	*smell*
/oo/	/randoo/	*young unmarried girl*
/ou/	/sou/	*house*
/ui/	/lui/	*rope*

/ue/	/ue/	*water*
/ua/	/pua/	*day before yesterday*
/uo/	/tuobo/	*turn upside down*
/uu/	/kuu/	*small black biting insect*

2.8.2 Intervocalic glottal stops vs. sequence of vowels

There are a few contrasts involving glottal stop between two vowels of the same quality and a sequence of those two vowels. This is not extensive in Da'a, and a number of the words contrasting are borrowed words.

/iʔi/ vs. /ii/	/jiʔi/	*try*
	/jii/	*demon*
/eʔe/ vs. /ee/	/neʔe/	*don't*
	/tee/	*tea*
/aʔa/ vs. /aa/	/jaʔa/	*evil*
	/jaa/	*hour*
/oʔo/ vs. /oo/	/koʔo/	*hard*
	/koo/	*sound made to call dog*
/uʔu/ vs. /uu/	/kuʔu/	*stiff with dirt*
	/kuu/	*small black biting insect*

3. SUPRASEGMENTALS

3.1 Stress

Stress is NOT phonemic. It occurs on the penultimate syllable of a word, except when the following suffixes are added:

-ku	*I, me*
-mu	*you*
-na	*he, she,* or definite
-ta	*we* (incl)
-mo	*already*
-pa	*still*

In such cases the stress remains on the penultimate syllable of the word root. For example:

'sapo	*house*
'sapoku	*my house*
'ana	*child*
'anamu	*your child*
'uma	*father*
'umata	*our* (incl) *father*
'vavu	*pig*
'vavuna	*his,her pig*
'peo	*below*
'peona	*down below* (definite)
na'ria	*have*
na'riamo	*already have*

3.2 Length

Length is NOT phonemic. What some have seen as vowel length in Kaili (Ledo dialect, Wumbu 1975) corresponds to the situation in the Da'a dialect of Kaili. There is not contrast of vowel length, but sequence of two vowels of the same quality. The contrast is between V in unstressed syllable and a vowel in stressed syllable followed by a vowel of the same quality in an unstressed syllable. For example:

'nasi	*a name*	na'sii	*wet*
ku'leŋe	*tired (used of pig after a chase)*	kule'ŋee	*chicken hawk*
'tara	*look at*	ta'raa	*pineapple*
'napi	*a name*	na'pii	*narrow*

A further note of some interest is that a sequence of two vowels of the same quality is often a mark of a loanword in which a final consonant has been dropped. Thus the Indonesian word seng *zinc roofing* → /see/ in Da'a; teh *tea* → /tee/; jumaat *Friday* → /jumaa/; and jin *demon* → /jii/.

4. SYLLABLE PATTERNS

Two basic syllable patterns exist in Da'a:

V	'a.ku	*I, me*
CV	'bo	*and*

These two patterns combine to allow words of the following syllable patterns, ranging in length from one to a maximum observed word of seven syllables. Examples are as follows:

NUMBER OF SYLLABLES			
1	CV	/bo/	*and*
2	V.V	/e.o/	*day*
	V.CV	/a.ku/	*I, me*
	CV.CV	/ma.ta/	*eye*
	CV.V	/pu.e/	*lord*
3	V.V.CV	/a.o.no/	*six*
	V.CV.CV	/a.na.na/	*his child*
	CV.CV.CV	/na.ra.ta/	*arrived*
	CV.CV.V	/mo.tu.a/	*descend*
	CV.V.CV	/pu.e.na/	*owner*
4	V.CV.CV.CV	/u.su.ŋge.di/	*last rib*
	CV.CV.CV.CV	/mo.mba.di.ka/	*put*
	CV.CV.CV.V	/ka.tu.vu.a/	*life*
	CV.CV.V.CV	/ka.sa.e.na/	*long time*
	CV.V.CV.CV	/ni.o.me.na/	*was swallowed (by him)*
	CV.CV.V.V	/po.mpa.e.o/	*morning star*
	CV.V.V.CV	/na.u.e.mo/	*cried (tears)*
5	V.CV.CV.CV.CV	/u.ja.ŋga.la.ʔa/	*drizzle*
	V.V.CV.CV.CV	/u.e.ŋga.lu.ku/	*coconut water*
	V.CV.CV.CV.V	/u.ja.ŋga.le.i/	*sun shower*
	CV.CV.CV.CV.CV	/ku.li.mu.ŋga.pu/	*fog, mist*
	CV.CV.CV.CV.V	/sa.mpi.no.ra.a/	*rainbow*

	CV.CV.CV.V.CV	/sa.mpa.la.i.pa/	*in a moment*
	CV.CV.V.CV.CV	/ko.re.o.va.la/	*canary*
	CV.V.CV.CV.CV	/pu.a.ŋga.ve.ŋi/	*night before last*
6	CV.CV.CV.CV.CV.CV	/mo.mba.na.vu.sa.ka/	*to drop*
	CV.CV.CV.CV.CV.V	/ma.si.na.mpo.ja.u/	*sewing machine*
	CV.CV.CV.CV.V.CV	/ma.nta.bu.ni.a.ka/	*hide (something)*
	CV.CV.CV.V.CV.CV	/mo.mba.bo.a.ra.ka/	*open eyes (slowly)*
	CV.CV.V.CV.CV.CV	/na.nta.i.lu.sa.ka/	*spit out*
	CV.CV.CV.V.CV.V	/sa.ŋga.sa.e.sa.e/	*forever*
	CV.CV.V.CV.V.CV	/ka.sa.e.sa.e.na/	*forever*
7	CV.CV.CV.CV.CV.CV.CV	/mo.mba.vu.ne.ŋge.sa.ka/	*shake out*
	CV.CV.CV.CV.CV.V.CV	/ra.po.si.go.li.a.ka/	*will each roll up (something)*
	CV.CV.CV.CV.V.CV.CV	/ra.po.si.su.a.ra.ka/	*will each insert*
	CV.CV.CV.V.CV.V.CV	/sa.ŋga.sa.e.sa.e.na/	*forever*

Any syllable type may occur with any other type. Phonological words of more than two syllables having the V.V pattern are rare. /a.o.no/ *six* is an example but few others exist. /u.e.nga.lu.ku/ *coconut water* is a further rare example of V.V pattern in words of more than two syllables.

A few basic constraints exist governing the syllable patterns possible in Da'a. In general verb roots tend to be two syllable, most commonly CV.CV, with a few examples of CV.V. Words larger than five syllables are all verbs taking prefixes and suffixes. Very few words in the total lexicon begin with a vowel.

5. TENTATIVE ORTHOGRAPHY FOR DA'A

Based on the above analysis, the following tentative orthography is suggested for Da'a. The orthography suggested for Kaili (Ledo dialect, which differs slightly from Da'a) by the PDK (Wumbu 1975) is also shown, followed by a brief discussion of the minor differences between the two suggested orthographies.

PHONEMES	TENTATIVE ORTHOGRAPHY	PDK ORTHOGRAPHY
/b/	b	b
/p/	p	p
/d/	d	d
/t/	t	t
/g/	g	g
/k/	k	k
/ʔ/		'
/mb/	mb	mb
/mp/	mp	mp
/nd/	nd	nd
/nt/	nt	nt
/nj/	nj	nj
/ŋg/	ngg	ngg
/v/	w	v
/s/	s	s
/j/	j	j
/m/	m	m
/n/	n	n

/ŋ/	ng	ng
/l/	l	l
/r/	r	r
/y/	y	y
/i/	i	i
/e/	e	e
/a/	a	a
/o/	o	o
/u/	u	u

In addition to the above phonemes of Da'a, the Ledo dialect has several other phonemes. These are listed below with comments.

/č/ In Da'a this occurs in only a few loanwords from Indonesian. Most borrowings with /č/ are changed to /s/ when borrowed into Da'a. Thus /čamat/ → /sama/ *subdistrict government officer*. Ledo /č/ → Da'a /s/ as in Ledo /čolo/ → /solo/ *matches*. We propose the use of c in instances where loanwords are borrowed retaining the /č/.

/h/ Ledo has an /h/ phoneme. Da'a alters loans with /h/ to /ʔ/, as in Indonesian /pahat/ → /paʔa/ *chisel*.

/ŋk/ Present in Ledo, not in Da'a. Ledo loans with /ŋk/ become Da'a /ng/, as in /čaŋkore/ → /sanggore/ *peanuts*. Other Kaili dialects have /ŋk/ where Da'a has /ŋg/, for example Moma /maŋkoni/ and Da'a /maŋgoni/ *eat*.

/nč/ In Da'a only a few rare Indonesian loans have retained /nč/ as in /bončis/ → /bonči/ *red beans*. We suggest writing this as nc, as is suggested by PDK (Wumbu 1975).

/ny/ This is not found in Da'a.

DISCUSSION. As mentioned in section 3.2, the present analysis differs slightly in the treatment of long vowels. The PDK orthography lists phonemes of long vowels. In terms of the actual writing the analysis of long vowel vs. sequence of two similar vowels makes no difference. In either case these may be written as two vowels, as in kulengee *chicken hawk*.

The present work suggests the use of w for the phoneme /v/ in Da'a, while PDK suggests v for Kaili. The authors feel for the following practical reasons that /v/ is best symbolised by w: 1) There is no contrast between /v/ and /w/ in Da'a. 2) Literate Da'a speakers already know the symbol w and when writing Da'a they spontaneously use w for the phoneme /v/. 3) v is NOT used in the Indonesian orthography. Hence to symbolise /v/ with v puts an unnecessary added load on the Da'a reader, who must transfer his reading knowledge of Da'a to Indonesian or vice versa. From a pure linguistic view, v is perfectly acceptable. From a sociolinguistic viewpoint, we feel w is more suitable.

One phoneme is *not* represented in the proposed orthography of Da'a, /ʔ/, while PDK includes this for Kaili, using the symbol '. /ʔ/ does not have a high functional load in Da'a. Tests were made with people literate in Bahasa Indonesia to determine whether /ʔ/ needed to be symbolised in Da'a or not. Texts using ' for /ʔ/ and others without any symbolisation of /ʔ/ were tested with a number of Da'a literates. Both texts were equally readable. From a practical point of view, therefore, we suggest not symbolising /ʔ/ in the Da'a orthography. Tests show it is not needed. While ' is used in a few Indonesian words borrowed from Arabic, such as juma'at *Friday*, this symbol is often omitted, as in jumaat

Friday. By not symbolising /ʔ/ in Da'a orthography, new readers have one less symbol to learn.

6. SAMPLE TEXT IN DA'A

The following text is given in phonetic and phonemic transcription as well as in the proposed orthography. A free English translation follows.

['asu 'bo 'vavu 'ŋga 'kayu]
/asu bo vavu ŋga kayu/
Asu bo wawu ngga kayu

[na'ŋuli 'vavu 'ŋgga 'kayu, 'daʔa ma'mala ɾa'ɾaga nu 'asu] [na'ŋuli 'asu
/naŋuli vavu ŋga kayu, daʔa mamala raraga nu asu/ /naŋuli asu
Nanguli wawu ngga kayu, daa mamala raraga nu asu. Nanguli asu

ma'mala] [ni'ulina 'daʔa ma'mala ka ɾa'ɾaga] [na'ŋuli 'asu ma'mala] ['daʔa
mamala/ /niulina daʔa mamala ka raraga/ /naŋuli asu mamala/ /daʔa
mamala. Niulina daa mamala ka raraga. Nanguli asu mamala. Daa

ma'mala 'aku mu'ɾaga] [ma'mala ku'ɾaga] ['ane 'daʔa 'iko ku'ɾaga ɾa'gese
mamala aku muraga/ /mamala kuraga/ /ane daʔa iko kuraga ragese
mamala aku muraga. Mamala kuraga. Ane daa iko kuraga ragese

'mompe 'veʔi] ['asu ni'dikana ɾi oŋe na'mompe] ['vavu ni'dikana ɾi 'lelona]
mompe veʔi/ /asu nidikana ri oŋe namompe/ /vavu nidikana ri lelona/
mompe wei. Asu nidikana ri onge namompe. Wawu nidikana ri lelona.

[nosi'elo nosi'elo nosi'elo nosi'njapu] ['vavu na'ŋelo 'asu 'daʔa ni'ratana]
/nosielo nosielo nosielo nosinjapu/ /vavu naŋelo asu daʔa niratana/
Nosielo nosielo nosielo nosinjapu. Wawu nangelo asu daa niratana.

['daʔa ni'eŋana 'soana] ['asu na'ŋelo 'vavu ni'ratana] [ni'ratana 'vavu
/daʔa nieŋana soana/ /asu naŋelo vavu niratana/ /niratana vavu
Daa niengana soana. Asu nangelo wawu niratana. Niratana wawu

ni'ɾaga 'ɾaga 'ɾaga ni'ɾaga 'sampe na'mala] ['etumo 'veʔi 'daʔa ma'mala 'iko
niraga raga raga niraga sampe namala/ /etumo veʔi daʔa mamala iko
niraga raga raga niraga sampe namala. Etumo wei daa mamala iko

ku'ɾaga] ['venu na'malamo] [na'mala ka 'asupa ni'baga nu 'asumo 'ia]
kuraga/ /venu namalamo/ /namala ka asupa nibaga nu asumo ia/
kuraga. Wenu namalamo? Namala ka asupa nibaga nu asumo ia.

[ni'soko nu 'asumo, ni'dagi nu 'asumo 'vavu] ['etu 'vavu ŋga 'kayu 'sampe
/nisoko nu asumo, nidagi nu asumo vavu/ /etu vavu ŋga kayu sampe
Nisoko nu asumo, nidagi nu asumo wawu. Etu wawu ngga kayu sampe

na'mala ka 'asu]
namala ka asu/
namala ka asu.

The Dog and the Wild Boar

The wild boar said he couldn't be chased by the dog. The dog said he could chase the pig. He (the pig) said he couldn't be chased, and the dog said he could (chase the pig). "You can't chase me" (said the pig). "I can too" (said the dog). "If (you claim) I can't catch you (let's) rub this medicine like this." The dog put the medicine on the pig's nose. The pig put some on the

dog's tail. They looked and looked and looked for each other. The pig looked for the dog but couldn't find him. He couldn't smell the dog's odour. The dog looked for the pig and found him. He found the pig and chased and chased after him until he caught him. "You said I couldn't chase you. How come I got you?" The dog was able to fight the pig. He grabbed the pig and defeated him. And that's how the wild boar was caught by the dog.

NOTE

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ABBREVIATION

PDK Kantor Wilayah Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Propinsi Sulawesi Tengah, Bidang Sesenian.

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PHONOLOGY OF UMA

Michael Martens

1. SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

1.1 Chart

The following is a chart of the segmental phonemes of Uma,[1] along with some notes and observations.

LINGUAL Alv.	LINGUAL Pal.	LINGUAL Vel.	LABIAL	LARYNGEAL		
ⁿt	ⁿc	ᵑk	ᵐp		nas	
t		k	p	'	vl	-CONT
d	j	g	b		vd	
r						
n	ñ	ŋ	m		nas	
s				h	vl	+CONT
l			ɓ		vd	-SYLLABIC
	i	u			high	+CONT
	e	o				
	a				low	+SYLLABIC

The prenasalised series of stops is problematic. These phonemes primarily occur: a) in initial position, where they are the result of a verbal prefix /N-/ (e.g. /ᵑkoni'/ *to eat*, from /N-/ + /koni'/ *to eat*; and /ⁿcarumaka/ *to hope*, from /N-/ + /sarumaka/ *hope*); b) as the result of morphophonemic processes, such as that between a numeral and classifier (e.g. /roᵐpepa'/ *two sheets of*, from /ro-/ *two* + /pepa'/ *to be wide*). There are, however, unambiguous occurrences of these prenasalised stops, i.e. ones that cannot be reanalysed: /daⁿci/ *bird*, /oⁿti'/ *ant*, /laᵑko/ *to be tall*, /loᵐpe'/ *good*.

Papers in Western Austronesian linguistics No.4, 153-165.
Pacific Linguistics, A-79, 1988.

Note that the phoneme /r/ is a separate line on the chart. While it would be 'neater' to place /r/ in alveolar position with the +CONT (and move /l/ to palatal position), yet in matters of phonetic and morphophonemic rules, the /r/ acts like a non-continuant. Thus the irregularity of the chart.

The phoneme /h/ functions like a nasal in some respects. It is nasalised and causes the nasalisation of following non-front vowels (cf. 5.1).

The phoneme /l/ is retroflexed contiguous to non-front vowels. This retroflexed quality is dropping out of the speech of younger speakers.

1.2 Examples

In the list below, each phoneme is described, and two examples are given, one showing the phoneme in initial position, one showing it medially.

/p/ voiceless bilabial stop
/puna'/ *to put in*
/napa/ *what*

/t/ voiceless alveolar stop
/tilua'/ *to vomit*
/ƀatu/ *rock*

/k/ voiceless velar stop
/kana/ *must*
/ƀuku/ *bone*

/'/ glottal stop
*neutralised word-initially
/tu'a/ *to be old*

/b/ voiced bilabial stop
/batua/ *slave*
/ibo'/ *monkey*

/d/ voiced alveolar stop
/doo/ *companion*
/ladi'/ *knife*

/g/ voiced velar stop
/gasi/ *to be fast*
/rege'/ *mud*

/ᵐp/ prenasalised bilabial stop
/ᵐpuga/ *sago leaves*
/loᵐpe'/ *to be good*

/ⁿt/ prenasalised alveolar stop
/ⁿtaloku/ *sweet potato*
/oⁿti'/ *ant*

/ᵑk/ prenasalised velar stop
/ᵑkojo/ *vegetables*
/laᵑka'/ *sleeping platform*

/j/ voiced alveopalatal affricate
/jara'/ *horse*
/aje/ *chin*

/ⁿc/ prenasalised alveopalatal affricate
/ⁿcimonou'/ *evening*
/daⁿci/ *bird*

/ƀ/ voiced bilabial fricative
/ƀoo'/ *head*
/tuƀu'/ *to live*

/s/ voiceless alveolar sibilant
/sio/ *nine*
/gasi/ *to be fast*

/h/ voiceless laryngeal fricative
/haŋa'/ *name*
/mo'ahu/ *to hunt*

/m/ voiced bilabial nasal
/mata/ *eye*
/kama/ *to be big*

/n/ voiced alveolar nasal
/naho/ *pandanus leaf*
/kana/ *to have to*

/ñ/ voiced palatal nasal
/ñañoa/ *in front of*
/hiñai'/ *carelessly*

/ŋ/ voiced velar nasal
/ŋone/ *earlier*
/ŋaŋa/ *mouth*

/r/ voiced alveolar flap
/ria/ *to be*
/taraa/ *toad*

/l/ voiced alveolar lateral
/lio/ *face*
/molala/ *spicy* (mo̤la̤la)

/a/ low central unrounded vocoid
/abe'/ *sarong*
/haƀa'/ *command*

/e/ mid front unrounded vocoid
/ema'/ *friend*
/bereƀe/ *lawn*

/i/ high front unrounded vocoid
/ila'/ *floor*
/tini'/ *to circumcise*

/o/ mid back rounded vocoid
/oli/ *to buy*
/lolo/ *on top of*

/u/ high back rounded vocoid
/ule/ *snake, worm*
/tuku'/ *to follow*

1.3 Contrast

The following examples show the contrast of phonemes that are phonetically similar.

/p/ vs. /b/ vs. /ᵐp/ :	/ipa'/ *cockroach* /ibo'/ *monkey* /iᵐpo'/ *untorn, intact*
/b/ vs. /ɓ/ :	/ɓeŋi/ *to be dark* /beŋi/ *yesterday*
/t/ vs. /d/ vs. /ⁿt/ :	/tali/ *headband* /dali/ *earring* /ⁿtali/ *relationship*
/k/ vs. /g/ vs. /ŋk/ :	/ɓoko/ *pair* /bago/ *to work* /ɓoŋko/ *uphill*
/k/ vs. /'/ :	/ɓoko/ *pair* /ɓo'o/ *also*
/'/ vs. its absence :	/tetuai/ *to be poured out* /tu'ai/ *younger sibling* /ha'a/ *bark-pounding table* /haa'/ *fork in stream*
/ⁿc/ vs. /j/ :	/ŋkali'aⁿce/ *to lean against* /aje/ *chin*
/n/ vs. /ñ/ vs. /ŋ/ :	/manu'/ *chicken* /momañu/ *to pound in a mortar* /monaŋu/ *to swim*
/l/ vs. /r/ :	/lia/ *very much* /ria/ *to be*
vowels:	/ili'/ *to turn and look* /eli/ *to be adorable* /oli/ *to buy* /ali'/ *mat* /uli'/ *to say*

1.4 Distribution

Segmental phonemes occur freely within the syllable and word patterns of Uma. The only exception is glottal stop, which exhibits the following peculiarities:

(a) Glottal stop is not contrastive word initially, that is, there is loss of contrast between glottal stop and its absence word initial (cf. 3.2).

(b) The sequence #V' and 'V' do not occur. This includes the final glottal of glottalised words. Thus /ki'ou'/ *pine tree* is an acceptable word type, but */ki'o'/, */kio'u'/ and */i'ou/ are not.

(c) Glottal stop may occur word final. cf. 3.3 for discussion.

2. SYLLABLE

2.1 Description

There are two types of syllables: V and CV. Since there are no closed syllables, there are no consonant clusters and no final consonants. Affricates and prenasalised stops are interpreted here as single segments, i.e. /ᵐp/, /ⁿt/, /ᵑk/, /ⁿc/, and /j/, not /mp/, /nt/, etc.

In keeping with the syllable pattern stated above, phonetically long vowels are interpreted as sequences of two or more syllables of the same vowel, e.g. /mosii'/ *to be wet* is three syllables (CV.CV.V). Vowel glides are here interpreted as sequences of two or more syllables: /rei/ *here*, not */reⁱ/. This interpretation is consistent with the rule of penultimate stress on the word base (cf. 3.1.1).

Note the stress placement in the following examples. From here on, stress will be marked in the examples.

(1)a. /hílo/ *to see* (CV.CV)
   b. /hilóu/ *to go* (CV.CV.V)

(2)a. /ⁿcíɓu'/ *to sprinkle* (CV.CV)
   b. /ᵑkatiɓúu/ *dragonfly* (CV.CV.CV.V)

In example (1), the vowel /i/ is stressed in /hílo/, since this is the penultimate syllable. But in the word /hilóu/, the vowel /o/ is the stressed one, because the /u/ is a separate syllable. Likewise in example (2), the long /uu/ of /ᵑkatiɓúu/ is two syllables, and so the stress falls in the first /u/.

2.2 Distribution

Within a word base, the two syllable types may freely occur with the following exceptions:

(a) A sequence of three or more V syllables never occurs, except in the case of loanwords or grammatically derived stems.

(b) Word bases of four or more syllables (which, for the most part, are either loanwords or derived stems) never begin with a V syllable.[2]

3. WORD BASE AND PHONOLOGICAL PHRASE

3.1 Penultimate stress on word base

3.1.1 A word base is defined as a phonological/lexical unit of two or more syllables, either simple or derived. Word bases include both content words (nouns, verbs and adverbs) and grammatical function words (prefix clusters, multisyllabic enclitics). In a word base, stress is always penultimate.

SIMPLE NOUNS

(3)a. /uda/ *rain*
   b. /goa'/ *corn*
   c. /ue/ *water*
   d. /tuaka/ *older sibling*

DERIVED NOUNS

(4)a. /po-niu-a'/ *bathing place* (from root /niu'/ *to bathe*)
b. /p-in-oŋo/ *betelnut* (from root /poŋo/ *to chew*)

SIMPLE VERBS (INCLUDING ADJECTIVES)

(5)a. /hilo/ *to see*
b. /tuluŋi/ *to help*
c. /tu'a/ *to be old*

DERIVED VERBS

(6)a. /hiloi/ *to look at* (from root /hilo/ *to see*)
b. /udaa/ *to rain* (from root /uda/ *rain*)

ADVERBS, DEMONSTRATIVES, ETC.

(7)a. /retu/ *there (near you)*
b. /ᵐpu'u/ *very*
c. /-dua/ classifier for humans

PREFIXES

(8)a. /ᵐpoka-/ causative change of state
b. /mome-/ intransitive reciprocal

ENCLITICS

(9)a. /-pidi/ *still, continuing to present time*
b. /-ɓadi/ *just, merely*
c. /-taɓo/ *sudden realisation*

3.1.2 There are also grammatical particles in Uma of one syllable in length, which have no autonomous stress. For example:

(10)a. /-a/ 1sg. absolutive
b. /-i/ 3sg. absolutive
c. /-ku/ 1sg. possessive
d. /-mi/ completive aspect
e. /mo-/ intransitive verb-adjective prefix
f. /to-/ relative pronoun
g. /hi-/ *in, to, at*

3.1.3 In a noun phrase or verb phrase, the word bases and particles combine to form a unit with the following phonological characteristics:

(a) The word base that forms the nucleus of the phrase receives primary stress. This is of course the main content word. The stresses of all other word bases preceding it are reduced slightly. The stresses of all word bases following it are reduced greatly.

(b) If the phrase ends in a two-syllable enclitic or in two or more particles, the final syllable receives a minor stress.

(11) /hi-lòlo ɓátu/ *on top of the rock*

(12) /hi-lólo-na/ *on top of it*

(13) /mòme-pòka-'áhi'/ *to love each other*

(14) /ha-dúa ƀadì/ *just one person*

(15) /ra-tudúi'-mi-ta-kà/ *it was taught to us*

Notice in examples (11)-(15) the nucleus of the phrase (underlined) receives the main stress (´), while those to the left receive a minor stress (`). In (15), the final syllable of the phrase also receives a minor stress, according to rule (b) above. Note that in (11) and (12) the root /lolo/ can be either marginal or nuclear, depending on the context.

Two or more of the one-syllable particles occurring in a row are treated as a word base in matters of stress:

(16) /tò-hi-lódu/ *the people in Lodu*

(17) /hì-to-hamíka'/ *on the one half*

In (16) the two particles /to-/ 'relative marker' and /hi-/ *in, at* combine to receive a penultimate stress on the /to-/. In example (17) the same two particles, occurring in reverse order, receive stress on the /hi-/. In both cases, this stress is a reduced one, since these particles are not and can never be the nucleus of the phrase.

3.1.4 At first, stress may seem unpredictable in Uma because of the abundance of enclitic suffixes. There are such minimal stress pairs as:

(18)a. [kénia] *carry me!*
b. [kenía] *baggage (carried things)*

(19)a. [lúnana] *its (the axe's) handle hole*
b. [lunána] *a type of tree*

However, on further analysis, these and other forms do have predictable penultimate stress on the word base. Derivational suffixes, such as the /-a/ noun-forming suffix in (18b), form a new grammatical stem. Thus a derivational suffix becomes part of the word base, and stress is placed accordingly.

In contrast to this, enclitic suffixes, inflectional or aspectual in function, are not part of the word base.[3] In (18a), the enclitic /-a/ '1sg. absolutive' does not affect the penultimate stress on the word base /kéni/ *to carry*. Likewise in (19a), the /-na/ '3sg. possessive' is an enclitic and /luna/ *handle hole* is the word base. Thus:

(20)a. /kéni a/ *carry me* (from (18a))
b. /kení-a/ *baggage* (from (18b))

(21)a. /lúna na/ *its handle hole* (from (19a))
b. /lunána/ *a type of tree* (from (19b))

(22)a. /na-hílo i/ *he sees him*
b. /hiló-i/ *to take a look at*
c. /na-pehiló-i a/ *he takes a look at me*

In (22a), the enclitic /-i/ '3sg. absolutive' does not affect the stress of the word base /hílo/ *to see*. But in (22b), the derivational suffix /-i/ 'locational' forms a new stem, /hilói/ *to take a look at*, and causes the stress to move to the right. This new stem is used in a sentence in (22c).

3.1.5 When two vowels occur in a row, the second of which is phonetically higher than the first, they act as a unit in stress placement.

(23) /páiɓa/ *feeding trough*

(24) /páe-a/ *there is rice* (/-a/ is a verbalising suffix)

(25) /dáeo'/ *grave*

In (23)-(25), the stress is actually (phonetically) on the antepenultimate vowel, although astute native speakers will still select the penultimate syllable as the stressed one. This is an anomaly caused by the phonetic process of gliding to a higher vowel.

3.2 Vowel initial words

Esser (1964:4) states that all vowel-initial words in Uma are glottal-initial. In our analysis, it has seemed better to conclude that there is neutralisation of contrast between glottal and its absence word-initially. Whether or not there is really a glottal stop at the beginning is a moot point. Historical and morphophonemic evidence are not conclusive.[4] In this paper, no word-initial glottal stops will be written.

When a vowel-initial word base occurs as the nucleus of a phrase, an initial glottal stop is added. This acts as a transitional sound between the nucleus and the preceding word. Note how a glottal is added to the words /ána'/ and /óno/ in (26) and (27).

(26)a. /ána'/ *child*
b. /mo'ána'/ *to give birth*

(27)a. /óno/ *six*
b. /ka'óno/ *the sixth*

In contrast, particles and words other than in nuclear position do not receive this transitional glottal. In (28) there is no glottal before the /-imi/ (/-i/ '3sg. absolutive, /-mi/ 'completive aspect').

(28)a. /ráta/ *to arrive*
b. /ráta imì/ *he arrived*

(29)a. /ómei'/ *to swallow*
b. /na-pò-i-'oméi'/ *he swallowed it along with (something else)*

Similarly in (29), the /i-/ 'concomitant prefix' is not separated from the preceding /po-/ 'transitive', but is separated from the main word base /oméi'/ *to swallow.*[5]

3.3 Word-final glottals

3.3.1 Esser (1964:2) was the first to note that Uma is not a "truly vocalic" language, by which he meant that not all words end in a vowel. A large percentage of content words end with a glottal stop.[6] Note the following pairs of words:

(30)a. /úma/ *no*
b. /úma'/ *uncle*

(31)a. /mo-tómo/ *to be heavy*
b. /mo-tómo'/ *to be delicious*

(32)a. /me-ó^{n}ti/ *to be sweethearts*
b. /ó^{n}ti'/ *ant*

(33)a. /áku/ *a line of weaving*
b. /áku'/ *I, me*

This word-final glottal stop is an important phonological distinctive of Uma, and the minimal pairs above are just a small example of many.

Words with final glottal stop have the following properties:

(a) Voiced and voiceless stops (but not prenasalised stops) medial in glottal final words tend to be preglottalised. This is more marked in speech of younger people (below about 12 years of age). Thus /hópo'/ *to slap* and /ládi'/ *knife* are often pronounced [hó'po'] and [lá'di'].

(b) Derivational suffixes occur before this final glottal stop. Note the 'movement' of the final glottal in the following examples.

(34)a. /ána'/ *child*
b. /mo-'aná-i'/ *to have children*

(35)a. /ra-túja'/ *planted* (said of seeds)
b. /ra-tujá-i'/ *planted* (said of field)

(36)a. /mo-níu'/ *to bathe*
b. /po-niú-a'/ *bathing place*

When the /-i/ locative suffix is added to the roots /ána'/ and /túja'/ in (33) and (34), the final glottal stop of these roots occurs after the suffix. The same is true in (35) with the circumfix /po--a/ *the place of ....* (Note also in all three examples the stress shifts with the addition of these affixes, since they are derivational (cf. 3.1.4).)

This contrasts with the enclitic particles, which occur after this final glottal and do not affect the stress of the word base:

(37) /mo-'ána' i/ *she gave birth* (cntr. (34b))

(38) /mo-níu' a/ *I take a bath* (cntr. (36b))

The addition of the enclitics /-i/ and /-a/ (3sg. and 1sg.) does not affect the position of the final glottal of the word base in (37) and (38).

3.3.2 This final glottal phenomenon is open to at least two interpretations. It can be viewed as a true consonant, or as a prosodic feature on the word base.

The latter is the interpretation followed in this paper. To view word-final glottals as consonants would violate the otherwise consistent pattern of no closed syllables in Uma. It would also require the derivational suffixes mentioned above to be viewed as infixes. True, infixes are common in Philippine and Indonesian languages, but they are usually at the beginning of words, not at the end. The prosodic analysis does require the added complexity of positing two word types (glottalised and non-glottalised), but it explains the prosodic effect of this glottal on previous stops in the word (3.3.1(a)).[7]

4. INTONATION AND HIGHER PHONOLOGICAL LEVELS

4.1 General characteristics

In general, Uma exhibits the following characteristics in its intonation: stressed syllables tend to receive higher pitch, and pitch tends to drop at the end of an utterance.

In connected speech, one or more phonological phrases (cf. 3.1.3) group together to form a pause group, which is defined by the following features: the final phonological phrase of a pause group receives heavy stress (") on its nuclear word and a higher pitch that remains level till the end of the pause group (˩˥"). It is followed by a short pause (/).

Pause groups in turn are grouped into a larger phonological unit, called here a phonological clause. A phonological clause is composed of one or two pause groups. There is a rising pitch following the major stress of the final phrase (˩˧"), followed by a longer pause (//).

The next-higher level of the phonological hierarchy is a sentence. The nucleus of the main predicate of the sentence receives a heavy stress and higher pitch; following this there is a progressive drop in pitch to the end of the sentence (˩˥").

(39) kíra kïra/ haᵑkëdi'-damò// nàpo-rä̈e'-mi/ tàpo-ᵐpuhá-i ɓö'o//
approx. *just a little* *appropriate* *we make another marker*

pái' ta-lunä̈-i'/ tàpe-ⁿtö'o-i-mi/ tomóle-na tö̈i//
and an edge *we stop* *side* *this*

tàba-bëhi ɓo'o-mi po-ᵐpüha-na/ hìto-ha-mïka'// pái' tàba-béhi
we make *also* *a marker* *on the (other)half and we make*

ɓó'o-mi lün̈a-na/ pái' ta-lüpï'-mi///
also *an edge* *and we fold (it)*

After a while, when it is appropriate to make another marker and edge, we stop this side and we make a marker on the other side and we make an edge and fold it.

This example above is one sentence, composed of five phonological clauses (each ending with a long pause symbol), in turn composed of 11 pause groups (each ending with a short or long pause symbol), in turn composed of 21 phonological phrases. (In this example, enclitics are all joined to their base word by hyphens, so that a word is defined by space.)

Note that after the main predicate (underlined) the downward drift of the sentence intonation 'overrides' and suppresses the normal high pitch of the following lower units, e.g. stress does not rise on /lúna-na/ or /ta-lupi'mí/ as one would expect if these words were in the beginning or middle of a sentence.

4.2 Variant sentence types

Besides the normal declarative type of sentence described above, there are several variant types. In calling to someone or answering at a distance or in urging, the accent is shifted from the penultimate syllable of the final word base to the ultimate syllable.

(40) /bëla tuakä na/ *No, it was his older brother!*

(41) /bäle kíta hilóu hi-tomï̈ kù/ *Friends, let's go to my house!*

The normal stress on the underlined words above would be /tuáka na/ *his older brother* and /hi-tómi ku/ *to my house.* But the stress is shifted in these examples because of the nature of the utterance.

When correcting an inaccurate statement or when emphasising, the sentence ends in a sudden rise of pitch instead of the normal falling pitch. The enclitic /-di/ 'assertive', is often used in such cases. Note the following two examples.

(42) /túru idì/ *He's lying down, in fact (not sit as you suggested)*

(43) /Tína Lïs Tína Lïn dihaɓò/ *Lis's mother. (No, I mean) Lin's mother.*

(44) /tömi di-hàna-lè/ *It was really a house after all!!*

When stressing the importance of what is being talked about, the entire sentence takes on a more sonorous quality. Note this modification in the second part of (45) below.

(45) /màradïka i maradïka ᵐpü'u/ *He was a nobleman. A nobleman indeed!*
[maradïkai mɔrɔdúkɔ ᵐpúú]

5. PHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES

In connected speech, the following processes modify the basic pronunciation.

5.1 Nasalisation

Within a word base functioning as the nucleus of a phrase, non-front vowels following the nasals /m/, /n/, /ñ/ and /ŋ/ and the phoneme /h/ are nasalised. This process continues until another consonant is encountered. Front vowels and vowels in word bases that are not nuclear do not become markedly nasal when in similar environments. Note the phonetic transcription of the following three examples.

(46) /háŋa' na/ [ḫ̬ąŋa'na] *his name*

(47) /mo-'áhu/ [mo'aḫ̬u] *to hunt with a dog*

(48) /mái ko/ [mą́i ko] *come here!*

5.2 Deletion of glottal

A glottal stop which is pronounced between two identical vowels in careful speech is dropped out or reduced to a laryngeal quality of the vowel in fast speech. Again note the phonetics of these examples:

(49) /tú'u i-mi/ [tú̯uimi] *put it!*

(50) /líu ƀó'o i-mi/ [lí^{u} ƀó̯oimi] *He went by again*

APPENDIX: PROPOSED ORTHOGRAPHY

The following orthographic symbols are suggested to represent the segmental phonemes of Uma. These are the symbols currently used by the few Uma speakers who attempt to write their own language.

PHONEME	SPELLING	PHONEME	SPELLING
/p/	p	/s/	s
/t/	t	/h/	h
/k/	k	/m/	m
/'/	'	/n/	n
/b/	b	/ñ/	ny
/d/	d	/ŋ/	ng
/g/	g	/l/	l
/^{m}p/	mp	/r/	r
/^{n}t/	nt	/a/	a
/ŋk/	ngk	/e/	e
/j/	j	/i/	i
/^{n}c/	nc	/o/	o
/ƀ/	w	/u/	u

This orthography is the same as that utilised by Esser (1964), except that for the phonemes /j/, /^{n}c/, /ñ/ and /u/, Esser uses the symbols dj, ntj, nj and oe. Here these have been changed to conform to modern Indonesian spelling.

Stress is not written, since it is predictable on the penultimate syllable of the word base. True, the stress placement is sometimes obscured, because enclitic suffixes are connected to the words they modify. But a native speaker will instinctively read tomina as /tómi na/ *his house*, and not as the meaningless */tomína/.

NOTES

[1]Uma (Pipikoro) is an Austronesian language, West Torajan Family, located in western Central Sulawesi, Indonesia. The author's fieldwork was done in the central dialect, the village of Kantewu 1°45' S 119°55'E).

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[2]If one takes the interpretation that all vowel-initial words are actually glottal-initial, then V syllables never occur word-initial. cf. 3.2 for discussion. Historically, V syllables in Uma have developed from consonant deletion: /pae/ *unhulled rice* (cf. Indonesian padi), /ki'ii/ *left side* (cf. Indonesian ke kiri).

[3]Historically these enclitic suffixes were probably independent words and are now in the process of being 'drawn in' to the word.

[4]In some cases, vowel-initial words result from the loss of an initial consonant, e.g. /áhi'/ *to love* (cf. Indonesian kasih) and /ána'/ *child* (cf. Indonesian kanak). In other cases, there is no known consonant lost, e.g. /ápu/ *fire* (Indonesian api).

In the matter of morphophonemics, 'vowel-initial' words behave the same as the class of nasals and liquids (i.e. truly vowel-initial), and not as the class of stops, flaps and spirants. On the other hand, the restricted sequences #V' and 'V' (discussed in 1.4b) are both manifestations of the same phenomenon if one holds that vowel-initial words are really glottal-initial.

[5]If one takes the interpretation that vowel-initial words are really glottal-initial, then there is no need to posit a transitional glottal. Particles, however, must be considered as vowel-initial in either analysis.

[6]In general, proto-forms with final /k/ or /h/ are realised in Uma with final glottals: /tána'/ *ground* (Ind. tanah), /ána'/ *child* (Ind. anak). PAN roots with final nasals are realised in Uma as non-glottal final: /tána/ *bury* (Ind. tanam), /úda/ *rain* (Ind. hujan).

[7]Esser (1964:2) says that this final glottal is "not really a consonant, but a certain way to end a vowel". He also notes that the related languages of Bada', Besoa and Rampi also have final glottals. In Uma, he notes that emphasised speech tends to receive final glottals (loanwords, independent pronouns, last word of exclamatory sentence).

The prosodic analysis is also supported by native reaction. Although Uma writers take care to write word-medial glottals, which are true consonants, they are quite forgetful when it comes to writing word-final glottals, which are a manifestation of laryngeal tension of the entire word.

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NOTES ON UMA VERBS

Michael Martens

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Uma is an Austronesian language spoken by about 15,000-20,000 people, most of whom live in the southern part of Kulawi subdistrict, Donggala district, in the Indonesian province of Central Sulawesi. Salombe, Barr and Barr (1979:4,23-27) classify Uma as a member of the Kaili-Pamona subgroup of languages, a term they coined to refer to the subgroup of closely-related languages found in the western part of Central Sulawesi. They coined this term to avoid the use of the term Toraja languages, a broad term that has been used of languages in Central and South Sulawesi since Dutch colonial days. Esser (1964) assigned Uma to the Western Toraja languages. Within Indonesia the term Toraja is now used strictly to refer to the language group in the area around Rantepao and Makale, South Sulawesi.

Following the prevailing custom, the name Uma is derived from the word for *no*, uma. Pipikoro, another name sometimes given the Uma language, is actually the name of the Uma homeland; it means "banks of the Koro (Lariang) River", which runs through the mountains where most of the Umas live. The Umas themselves never refer to their language as Pipikoro. The name Tobau is used by a small enclave of about 100 Umas who originated from the Kantewu about 70 years ago but who now live in the Seko language area of South Sulawesi.

Nearly every Uma village has its own linguistic peculiarities, but broadly speaking Uma can be divided into five dialects. 1) *Winatu* is the northern dialect, spoken in the village of Winatu and surrounding villages. Of all the Uma dialects it is the one closest geographically and linguistically to the Moma language spoken in Kulawi. 2) *Tobaku*, the western dialect, consists of the villages of Towulu', Siwongi and smaller villages in their vicinity. 3) *Tolee'*, the eastern dialect, is spoken in many small villages, including Onu', Koja, Moruɨ, Poraelea, Lonebasa, and Kilo. 4) The *Kantewu* dialect is spoken in the prestigious village of Kantewu and also in several areas outside of the Uma homeland where Umas have settled, such as the city of Palu, the Gimpu and Palolo valleys, and the Seko area of South Sulawesi. 5) The *Southern* dialect (sometimes called Banasu, Banahu or Aria) is spoken in the villages of Peana, Banasu, Mapahi', and other villages in their vicinity. Linguistically, the Southern dialect is very close to the Kantewu dialect, but sociologically the Umas see the two as distinct. The data from this paper are from the Kantewu dialect.

There are also some languages found in the province of South Sulawesi in the Mamuju area due west of the Uma homeland that are very similar to Uma. These include Sarudu', Topoiyo, and Towoni. Uma speakers of Central Sulawesi familiar with Sarudu' consider it to be the same language as Uma. Clearly these languages

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are part of the Kaili-Pamona subgroup, and Sarudu' for one is most likely an Uma dialect, but the exact status of this language area is still pending further investigation.

1.1 Overview of Uma

Phonologically Uma has a typical 5-vowel system (a, e, i, o, u) and a simple set of 21 consonants (p, t, k, ' (glottal), b, d, g, m, n, ny, ng, mp, nt, nc (prenasalised affricate), ngk, j, l (sometimes retroflexed), r, s, w (bilabial fricative) and h). Words are accented on the penultimate syllable of the stem. Like the other Kaili-Pamona languages, Uma has no consonant clusters or word-final consonants. It does, however, have a word-final glottalisation phenomenon that occurs quite frequently. About half of the lexical roots (not including functors) in Uma have final glottals, often forming minimal pairs with their non-glottalised counterparts. For example:

(1)a. uma *no*
   b. uma' *uncle*

(2)a. motomo *heavy*
   b. motomo' *delicious*

Vowel sequences are common in Uma, with each vowel acting as a separate syllable. In the following examples the accented syllable is in ALL CAPS.

(3) mosIi' *wet*

(4) beAu' *candlenut*

(5) kaloAa *empty*

Examples (3) and (4) are three-syllable words, and (5) is a four-syllable word. In each case the accent falls on the penultimate syllable, that is, the penultimate vowel. In written Uma, some enclitics are attached to the word that they follow, thereby obscuring the placement of accent on the base word for those not knowing the language. In the examples in this paper, most one-syllable clitics will be connected to the previous word by hyphens and longer clitics will be written as separate words.

In morphology Uma is a typical Austronesian language in that it has a focus system. Uma's focus system is not a full-fledged Philippine type system, but a simple binary actor- or goal-focus system (with locative focus operating as a subsystem, see section 5.1). Uma differs from the neighbouring Kaili and Pamona languages in that it does not have any indication of realis/irrealis marked on the verbs. Perhaps as a partial compensation for this, Uma has an impressive array of post-verbal clitics and particles. Because of its alignment of topic and non-topic pronouns, Uma has the appearance of an ergative language (see Martens, M.P., pp.263-277 in this volume).

2.0 PRONOUNS

The Uma verb system can best be understood if one begins with an understanding of the pronoun system. The chart below shows the four sets of pronouns used in Uma. The first and second sets are affixes used on verbs: the clitic (or topic) pronouns and non-topic actor pronouns. The third set is possessive suffixes used on nouns. The fourth set is independent pronouns.[1]

Chart 1: Uma pronouns

	1. Clitic	2. Non-topic actor	3. Possessive	4. Independent
singular				
1	-a	ku-	-ku	aku'
2	-ko	nu-	-nu*	iko
3	-i	na-	-na	hi'a
plural				
1	-kai**	ki-	-kai**	kai'**
2	-koi**	ni-	-ni*	koi'**
3	-ra	ra-	-ra	hira'
1+2	-ta	ta-	-ta	kita'

*The possessives -nu and -ni are -mu and -mi in the Tobaku, Tolee' and Winatu dialects.
**The clitic and possessive forms -kai and -koi are -kami and -komi, and the independent forms kai' and koi' are kami' and komi' in the Tolee' and Winatu dialects.

2.1 Clitic pronouns (column 1)

Clitic pronouns occur after the predicate. They correspond to what is normally called topic pronouns in Philippine linguistics, but this name is a bit misleading. They function like 'neutral' pronouns, that is, they are the unmarked set and do not necessarily highlight anything. From a discourse perspective, the clitic pronouns mark old information. In syntax, they normally mark either the subject of an intransitive verb or the object of a transitive verb. (The pronouns being illustrated in the examples below are in ALL CAPS in Uma and underlined in the translation.)

(6) mo-keno-A
INT-*run*-*I*
I run.

(7) nu-weba'-A
you-hit-me
You hit me.

Note in (6) that the clitic -a is the subject (actor) *I*, and in (7) it is the object (goal) *me* in the English gloss.[2]

2.2 Non-topic actor pronouns (column 2)

The non-topic actor pronouns are prefixes on verbs that mark the actor of a transitive verb when that actor is non-topic, that is, when the clause is goal-focus (G-foc). These non-topic pronouns are obligatory with G-foc verb forms.[3]

(8) KU-koni'
I(GF)-*eat*
I ate (it).

(9) KI-po-ka-'eka'-ko
we(GF)-TD-AFF-*fear-you*
We are afraid of you.

There is no overt marker of G-foc on Uma verbs. Rather it is the very presence of the non-topic actor pronoun that marks a verb as G-foc.[4] In (8), for instance, the ku- prefix not only tells us that the actor is 1s, but also that the verb is G-foc, focusing on some aforementioned edible thing.

The clitic (topic) and non-topic pronoun sets create in effect an ERGATIVE system. The clitic pronouns are the absolutive, that is, the subject/actor of intransitive verbs and the object of transitive verbs. The non-topic pronouns mark the ergative, that is, the subject/actor of transitive verbs. But the ergative pronoun set occurs only with the G-foc form of the verb and never with A-foc verbs, since by definition the ergative pronouns of Uma are non-topic. It should also be noted that the ergative pronouns mark not only agents, but any type of transitive subjects. In example (9), for example, the subject is not an agent but an experiencer - *We fear you.*

2.3 Possessive pronouns (column 3)

The possessive pronoun suffixes are technically clitics in that they do not affect the penultimate placement of stress on the root word. In the following examples note how the accented syllable (in ALL CAPS) remains the same when the possessive pronoun is added.

(10)a. HAnga' *name*
b. HAnga'-NA *his name*

(11)a. TOmi *house*
b. TOmi-KU *my house*

As Chart 1 reveals, these possessive suffixes are virtually identical in spelling to the non-topic actor prefixes. The only difference is in the 1p (ki- vs. kai). The reason for this similarity is that the non-topic actor pronouns historically developed from the possessive suffixes. In most languages of the Philippines and northern Sulawesi, as well as in many languages in Sulawesi, non-topic actors are marked by suffixes or post-verbal clitics that are identical with those used for possessive suffixes. Compare the Uma clause in (12a) with its equivalent in Kaili (Da'a dialect):

(12)a. Uma: ku-'oli once tetu
I(GF)-*buy rice that*
I bought that rice.

b. Da'a: ni-oli-ku ose etu
GF/REALIS-*buy-I rice that*
I bought that rice.

Da'a represents the more common non-actor focus pattern found in Philippine languages and most Central Sulawesi languages: prefix(es) indicating tense/aspect and focus (the ni- of Da'a being portmanteau for G-foc and realis), and the

non-focused actor as a possessive suffix (-ku). Uma is different in that the non-topic actor has become a prefix, and probably as part of the same historical process, the G-foc prefix has been deleted.[5]

2.4 Independent pronouns (column 4)

Unlike the first three sets of pronouns, the independent pronoun set consists of self-standing isolable words. They are not as commonly used as the other pronoun sets. They have the following uses:

1. To mark emphasis or highlighting:

(13) Hema to ma-dagi, HI'A to n-toro'.
who REL INT-*lose he* REL AF-*spin*
Whoever loses, HE's the one that spins (his top).

(14) Wae, pomporataa-ku AKU'
thus opinion-my I
So, in MY opinion ...

2. To mark sentence theme:

(15) Ane HI'A we'i tu, hangaa na-ronu'-ronu' pue' ngata.
if he earlier - simply he(GF)*-hack-hack owner village*
As for HIM, he just went hacking away at the villagers.

3. To highlight a contrast between one character or group and another:

(16) Tina-na ng-kawahi upi', HI'A ntora hi raha.
mother-his AF-*weed taro he remain in hut*
His mother weeded the taro, (but) HE just stayed in the hut.

(17) IKO hi rei hi kowo' to bangi, AKU' hilou hi kowo' to mo-rudu'.
you at here at grass REL *dry I go at grass* REL INT-*fertile*
YOU stay here with the dry grass, I'LL go to the green grass.

4. This marking of contrast also functions to show a shift in the story line from a side point back to the main character (see example (15) above):

(18) HI'A hana we'i, ntora lou m-po-ngoa'-ngoa' une' pongko.
he AS.3s *earlier remain go* AF-TR-*stare-stare under tower*
[The thieves were busy opening the door to the corral,] but HE all the while was staring up at the bottom of the tower.

5. To identify a group or to state a name:

(19) Mepulo ngone, mo-hawa' ma-kai, KAI' hancamoko ...
morning earlier INT-*plan* PFT-*we we couple*
This morning we had a plan, WE as a couple ...

(20) Ria to mo-bale, HIRA' korao' pai' bengka.
is REL INT-*friend they heron and buffalo*
There once were friends, THEY were the heron and the water buffalo.

(21) AKU' toi-mi-le to ra-hanga' Karampua.
I this-PFT-tag REL 3p(GF)-*name Karampua*
I am the one that is named Karampua.

6. As the object of simple prepositions:[6]

(22) Ku-pakatu hi IKO.
I(GF)-send to you
I send it to YOU.

(23) Sura toi ngkai AKU'.
letter this from me
This letter is from ME.

3.0 TRANSITIVITY AND FOCUS

As a general rule of thumb, verb prefixes that have the consonant p indicate transitive verbs, and verb prefixes that begin with a nasal consonant but lacking p indicate intransitive verbs. In this section we will examine some of the overall characteristics of transitivity in Uma.

3.1 Intransitive verbs

There is no morphological distinction in Uma between adjectives and intransitive verbs. Adjectives are morphologically the same as intransitive verbs. Intransitive verbs are typically prefixed with mo- or one of its alternate forms, ma- or me-. There is also a small class of common intransitive verbs that take no verbal prefix at all and a small class that takes the prefix N-. Examples of intransitive verbs are:

(24) mo-bago *to work*
(25) mo-lei *red*
(26) mo-keno *to run*
(27) geo' *to weep*
(28) bula *white*
(29) turu *to lie down*
(30) m-pongo *to chew betelnut*
(31) n-tii' *to nurse (of a baby)*
(32) ng-oi *to chew sugarcane*
(33) me-'eka' *to be afraid*
(34) ma-suli' *to be expensive*

Verbs prefixed by mo- (examples (24)-(26)) can be either actions (run, work) or states (red). Verbs lacking any prefixes (27)-(29) can similarly be either actions (weep) or states (white). Verb roots that form their intransitive with a N- prefix (30)-(32) are typically actions with implied goals. The prefixes ma- and me- ((33) and (34)) will be discussed in section 4.1.

3.2 Transitive actor-focus

There are two forms of transitive verbs in Uma: actor-focus (A-foc) and goal-focus (G-foc). A-foc verbs are typically prefixed with mpo-. This mpo- prefix is actually composed of two morphemes: N-, which acts as a 'verbaliser' or actor-focus marker (labelled AF), and po-, signifying transitivity (TR).[7]

(35) m-po-'inca
AF-TR-*know*
to know

(36) m-po-weba'
AF-TR-*hit*
to hit

(37) m-po-pali'
AF-TR-*hunt*
to hunt for/search

(38) m-po-hilo
AF-TR-*see*
to see

This mpo- prefix cluster is deleted in the G-foc form and replaced with one of the non-topic actor pronouns. Even in A-foc, the po- part of the prefix is deleted in certain circumstances, leaving only the N-. For instance, examples (35), (37) and (38) above appear also as ng-inca, m-pali', and n-cilo.[8] The form in example (36) cannot be shortened to *N-weba', since consonant clusters are impossible in Uma. It is possible that this particular po- prefix developed in Uma as a 'spacer' to separate the N- from the verb root and thus avoid consonant clusters.

A-foc verbs cannot be inflected for actor (subject).[9] The actor must be expressed by a noun phrase or independent pronoun or inferred from a context. A-foc verbs can be marked for goal by using clitic pronouns (Chart 1, column 1).

(39) Hira' hante ana' boko' M-PO-KENI tujaa'.
they with child behind AF-TR-*carry seeds*
They along with the children who came later CARRIED the seeds.

(40) Aku' to M-PO-KONI'-i ulu.
I REL AF-TR-*eat-him first*
I will EAT him first.

(41) Uma-a dota M-PO-'UBA'-ko.
not-I want AF-TR-*carry-you*
I don't want TO CARRY you.

(42) Tumai-a-ma M-PO-PALI'-i.
come-I-PFT AF-TR-*search-him*
I have come SEARCHING FOR him.

In each of the above examples, the actor of the A-foc verb can be found in the context: *they and the children* in (39), aku' *I* in (40) and -a *I* in (41) and (42).

The A-foc verb form is used in a variety of circumstances. Primarily it is used when the actor or the activity of the actor is the topic of the sentence or when the actor is being contrasted or highlighted. For instance in example (39) the speaker is contrasting his own activity *(I went on ahead and cleared the fields)* with that of the latecomers *(They came later carrying the seeds)*. Example (40) is also A-foc because of the emphatic, contrastive aku' - *I will eat him (not he me)!*

Because the A-foc is not marked for person and number of the actor, it is used in circumstances when, for syntactic reasons, the actor of the verb is assumed and not marked; for instance: when embedded in a relative clause (see example

(40)), when the verb is modified by an auxiliary verb (see (41), *want TO CARRY*), or when several verbs occur in a series (example (42), *I have come SEARCHING FOR him*).

Uma uses A-foc forms in many of the places where the English translation uses non-finite verb forms (for example, the verbs 'to carry' and 'searching for' in the above examples).

3.3 Transitive goal-focus

In G-foc transitive verbs the mpo- prefix is deleted and in its place the verb stem is obligatorily prefixed by a non-topic actor pronoun (Chart 1, column 2). The goal of the verb is optionally marked by a clitic pronoun just as with A-foc verbs. Compare the verbs in parts (a) and (b) of the following examples.

(43)a. Hi'a to m-po-weba'-a.
he REL AF-TR-*hit-me*
He's the one who hit me.

b. Na-weba'-a.
he(GF)-*hit-me*
He hit me.

(44)a. Aku' to m-po-weba'-ko.
I REL AF-TR-*hit-you*
I'm the one who hit you.

b. Ku-weba'-ko.
I(GF)-*hit-you*
I hit you.

(45)a. Hira' to m-po-weba'-kai.
they REL AF-TR-*hit-us.*
They're the ones who hit us.

b. Ra-weba'-kai.
they(GF)-*hit-us*
They hit us.

Examples (43)-(45a) give examples of A-foc verbs, and (43)-(45b) give the corresponding G-foc forms.[10] For example, in (43b) the prefix na- indicates that the subject/actor is 3s (*he* or *she*). Also the very presence of this prefix indicates that the verb is G-foc, because na- is a non-topic pronoun (see Note 4). Thus na- is glossed *he*(GF). Note carefully: this does not mean that na- is the goal. Na- means a 3s ACTOR, *he/she*; but its FORM indicates that the construction is GOAL-focus.

3.4 Chart of basic verb types

Chart 2: Basic verb types

	Verbaliser/ A-foc marker	Transi-tivity		Clitic pronoun
INTRANSITIVE	mo-	#	S T E M	-Actor
TRANS A-FOC	N-	(po-)		-Goal
TRANS G-FOC	#	non-topic pronoun		-Goal

As Chart 2 shows, intransitive verbs and transitive A-foc verbs have something in common. Both typically begin with a nasal prefix (mo- or N-). This prefix functions as a verbaliser or a marker of A-foc (intransitive verbs being A-foc by default, one might say). G-foc verbs, on the other hand, differ from the first two types in that they do not have a verbalising prefix or the transitive po- of A-foc verbs. Instead G-foc verbs are obligatorily prefixed with a non-topic actor pronoun. This fills the same slot as the po- does in A-foc, because it too marks the verb as transitive. How, one might ask, does a pronoun mark transitivity? Because it is a non-topic pronoun marking G-foc. In Hopper and Thompson's (1980) terms, G-foc clauses have more features of transitivity. G-foc verbs typically have definite and/or aforementioned goals/objects, are more often perfective in aspect, and are more often used on the event line of a narrative. All of this is true of G-foc verbs in Uma.

3.5 Degrees of transitivity

Uma verbs do not seem to fit well into the simple dichotomy of transitive vs. intransitive. Many clauses seem to belong to a "slushy middle ground". Take the verb root koni' *to eat* for example. Eating is a transitive concept - when one eats there is always an object eaten. But compare the following clauses:

(46) Ng-koni'-a.
AF-*eat-I*
I am eating.

(47) Ng-koni' loka'-a.
AF-*eat banana-I*
I am eating bananas.

(48) Ane doko'-i pidi m-po-koni'-ta, aku' to m-po-koni'-i ulu.
if want-he still AF-TR-*eat-us I* REL AF-TR-*eat-him first*
If he still wants to eat us, I will eat him first!

(49)a. Hiapa loka'-ku?
where banana-my
Where are my bananas?

b. Ku-koni'-mi.
I(GF)-*eat*-PFT
I already ate (them).

Example (46) is an intransitive clause. No goal is expressed, the verb is prefixed with the N- verbaliser/A-foc marker with no transitive po-, and the subject is marked with the clitic pronoun -a *I*, the pronoun form that marks the subjects of intransitive verbs. This clause focuses on the activity of eating; it is a good reply to the query, "What are you doing?"

In example (47) the clause has a stated direct object *(bananas)* but otherwise the syntax is identical to that in (46). Is (47) a transitive clause? No, not really. The object has been incorporated into the verb phrase, so the sentence can accurately be translated *I am banana-eating.* It is the activity that is being highlighted, just as in (46). Example (47) is also a good reply to "What are you doing?" or to the query "What are you eating?" The object is neither definite nor aforementioned. Constructions like (47) are called object incorporations and are quite common in Uma. Other examples are:

(50) Mo-tapi once-a.
INT-*winnow rice-I*
I am winnowing rice.

(51) M-pali' poturua-ku-a.
AF-*search bed-my-I*
I am searching for a sleeping-place for me.

Note the intransitive prefix mo- in example (50) - intransitive morphology pure and simple, yet with a direct object! Object incorporation is used when the object is indefinite. No specific bananas are being discussed in (47), no particular rice in (50). According to Hopper and Thompson (1980), clauses with non-definite objects are less transitive than those with definite objects. And this is certainly the case with object incorporation constructions in Uma.

In contrast with (46) and (47), examples (48) and (49) are clearly transitive. The verb root koni' *to eat* occurs twice in (48), both times with the m-po- transitive A-foc prefix cluster. The clitic pronouns attached to the verbs (-ta *us* and -i *him*) are the direct objects (goals) of the verbs. These objects are definite and aforementioned, being main characters in the narrative.

Example (49) is a dialogue between two people. In (49b) there is no goal mentioned, but it is assumed because the verb is G-foc. Frequently Uma uses G-foc verbs where English uses an anaphoric pronoun for the direct object: ku-koni' (*I*(GF)-*eat*) = *I ate [it].* In other words, G-foc signals an aforementioned, definite object.

The above examples show that the mere presence of a direct object in the clause is not the only factor in determining if a verb is transitive or not. Example (47), with a stated object is hardly transitive at all; but (49b), with no stated object at all, is actually the most highly transitive clause type. The definiteness of the direct object and the focus of the verb are important in determining what verbal prefixes and what pronoun set to use.

3.6 Antipassive

In ergative languages the subject of a transitive verb, or ERGATIVE, is marked differently from the subject of an intransitive verb and object of a transitive verb, together called ABSOLUTIVE. But in some ergative languages there is a kind of construction in which a transitive subject is marked as an absolutive. This demotion of the ergative to absolutive status is called an ANTIPASSIVE

construction. Since Uma has the appearance of an ergative language in the way its pronoun sets pattern, it also has a construction comparable to the antipassive construction.

(52) M-po-hilo-i romeha' sakaea.
AF-TR-*see-he two boat*
He saw two boats.

The verb in (52) is transitive A-foc, as shown by the m-po- prefix cluster. And the clause has an explicit direct object, *two boats*. The odd thing is that the subject/actor of this transitive clause (the normally ergative category) is marked by the clitic pronoun -i *he*, which is supposed to be used for absolutive. This is like an antipassive.

Antipassives indicate reduced transitivity in the clause (Hopper and Thompson 1980:257-258,268), and this is the case here. The object in (52) is referential but not aforementioned; that is, the narrator has two specific boats in mind, but has not mentioned them before. In the story from which it is taken, this clause is introducing the boats into the story. This is precisely the type of situation where antipassives usually occur in Uma, in the setting of a story to introduce some person or thing.

If the object/goal of a clause is definite, one usually expects a G-foc verb form, with the transitive subject 'properly' marked as ergative, as in (53) and (54) below.

(53) Na-hilo romeha' sakaea.
he(GF)-*see two boat*
He saw the two boats.

Na-hilo romeha' sakaea toe.
he(GF)-*see two boat that*
He saw the/those two boats.

Both (53) and (54) are similar to (52), except that the subject is now marked by the non-topic actor pronoun na- *he* and the verb is thus G-foc. In a clause like (53), the object is interpreted as definite and assumed by the speaker and hearer, though this may be its first mention in the story. In (54), the addition of the demonstrative toe *that/those* indicates that the object is aforementioned as well.

4.0 WORD- AND STEM-FORMING VERBAL PREFIXES

Chart 3 displays the most common affixes used to form verb stems in Uma. The chart does not indicate the co-occurrence restrictions that apply to the use of the various affixes. Note that columns 1 and 2 of Chart 3 are partitioned off with a heavy line. This is to mark the distinction between the affixes in columns 1 and 2 and those in columns 3 through 11. Columns 3 through 11 show the makeup of the verb stem, while the prefixes in columns 1 and 2 are added to this stem to make a finite verb word. Intransitive verb words (top third of Chart 3) are prefixed with mo-, me-, ma-, N- or Ø-. A-foc transitive verbs (middle third of chart) are prefixed with N- and sometimes po-. G-foc transitive verbs (bottom third of chart) are prefixed with one of the non-topic actor pronouns, or else the te- non-volitional prefix. Note that a verb stem can be made into either a transitive or intransitive verb word, depending on the

Chart 3: Uma verb stem and word

Column:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
INTR.	mo-, me-, ma- N-, Ø- (INT)		po- (CAUS)	pe- (ATT)	po- pe- pa- (TD)	me- (RECIP)	N- (AG)	ka- (AFF)	li- (REFL)	R O O T	-a (VF) -i (LOC)
A-FOC:	N- (AF)	po- (TR)									
TRANS. G-FOC:	ku- nu- na- ta- (non-topic pn.) te- (NV)	ki- ni- ra-									

Verb Stem

Verb Word

prefixation added to it. Even stems formed with causative or transitive derivational prefixes (columns 3 and 4) can be made into intransitive verb words by being prefixed with an intransitive prefix.

(55) Ria kuasa-na to me-pa-ka-'uri'.
is power-his that INT-TD-AFF-*get well*
He has power that heals.

The root of the verb in example (55) is 'uri' *to get well/to recover.* From this root is derived a transitive stem po-ka-'uri' *to cause to get well/to heal* by adding a transitive derivational pa- and affected ka-, and this stem in turn is made into an intransitive verb word with the intransitive prefix me-.

It is also possible to analyse Uma verbs without reference to any verb word; that is, to remove columns 1 and 2 from Chart 3 and insert them in Chart 4 (p.200) between columns 3 and 4. Such an analysis would make the word-forming prefixes constituents of the verb phrase, and also would make the verb stem a direct constituent of the verb phrase with no intermediary level.

Before examining these affixes in detail, here are some examples of verb stems. The number above each morpheme refers to its column on the chart.

(56) 1 2 10
m-po-toki
AF-TR-*chop*
to chop

(57) 1 10
ku-toki
I(GF)-*chop*
I chop (it) (G-foc)

(58) 1 3 5 10 11
ra-po-po-hilo-i
3p(GF)-CAUS-TD-*see*-LOC
They showed it/It was shown. (G-foc)

(59) 1 6 8 10 11
mo-me-ka-lompe-i'
INT-RECIP-AFF-*good*-LOC
to get along with each other

4.1 Intransitive mo-, me- and ma- (column 1)

As mentioned in section 3.1, most intransitive verbs begin with the prefix mo-, ma- or me-. There is no difference in meaning between mo- and ma-; both signify simple intransitive verbs, with mo- being by far the most common form. Only a small number of verb roots take ma- as the intransitive prefix, and most of these roots have a nasal consonant (m, n, ny, or ng) or h as the first consonant.[11] Some verbs fluctuate between mo- and ma- depending on the speaker, such as examples (60f) and (60g) below. Here are a few common intransitive verbs that use ma-.

(60)a. ma-na'u *to go downhill*
b. ma-nake' *to go uphill*
c. ma-ngemo' *to hunt for gold*

d. ma-'anu' *to be swept away by water*
e. ma-tantu *to be certain* (possibly borrowed from Indonesian tentu *certain*)
f. ma-nawu'/mo-nawu' *to fall*
g. ma-nangu/mo-nangu *to swim*

In its recent past, Uma has apparently had the tendency to reinterpret many central vowels as o's, and so it is likely that mo- and ma- are variations of what was once a single prefix.[12]

The intransitive prefix me- has some functions different from mo- and ma-. Me- is attached to noun roots to make verbs with the meaning *to search for/gather such-and-such*:

(61)a. ME-kaju *to gather firewood* (from kaju *wood*)
b. ME-pae *to harvest rice* (from pae *rice*)
c. ME-bau' *to hunt for meat/go fishing* (from bau' *meat, fish*)

Another usage of me- is to detransitivise roots that are normally transitive.

(62) ME-'ongko'-ra-mo.
INT-*left*-*they*-PFT
They left.

(63) Hilou-ra-mo hi rala wana' ME-pali'.
go-*they*-PFT *to inside jungle* INT-*search*
They went into the jungle searching.

(64) Hiapa harimau to doko' ME-koni'?
where tiger REL *want* INT-*eat*
Where is the tiger that wants to eat?

In (62) the root 'ongko' means *to lift, pick up* as a transitive verb. When prefixed with me- it becomes an intransitive verb with the meaning *to leave, depart* - to pick oneself up, so to speak. (This is exactly parallel to the Indonesian di-angkat and ber-angkat.) Me- has a 'middle voice' function here, showing that the subject/actor is involved in the action. In example (63) the normally transitive verb pali' *to search for*, is made intransitive by me-. This highlights the activity of searching, not the object being searched for, although the object is quite clear in the context of the story from which this example was taken. Likewise in example (64) the detransitivised form me-koni' means *to go around eating* or *to be a carnivore*.

4.2 Non-volitional te- (column 1-2)

Most of the prefixes that occur in slot 1 and 2 of Chart 3, namely, the N- verbaliser, the po- transitive prefix and the non-topic actor pronouns, have already been described in sections 2 and 3. One final prefix remains, non-volitional te-. G-foc verb forms must be prefixed with one of the seven non-topic actor pronouns or else with the non-volitional prefix te- (NV), which is pronounced ti- by some Umas. This te- prefix creates a G-foc verb with no expressed actor - in effect a passive participle that emphasises resultant state. It is similar to the ter- prefix in Indonesian.

(65) ane ra-hilo poju-na TE-wuni ...
if 3p(GF)-*see gall bladder-its* NV-*hide*
If it is seen that its gall bladder is HIDDEN ...

(66) mo-kore-i-mi hi ncori bengka ng-ka-kamu piho' to TE-wute'-mi
INT-*stand-he*-PFT *at side buffalo* AF-AFF-*hold sword* REL NV-*unsheath*-PFT
He stood beside the water buffalo holding an UNSHEATHED sword.

The verb form te-wuni in example (65) indicates that the gall bladder was hidden, with emphasis on the state, not the agent or the event. Similarly in example (66), the sword was in an unsheathed state.

The 3p non-topic pronoun ra- can also be used in a general or passive sense: *they* (non-specific) *did it/it was done*, as in (65), *if they see/if it is seen.* This usage of ra- and the non-volitional te- are similar in that neither mention the agent of the action. Ra- however emphasises the event, while te- emphasises the resultant state. The following pair of clauses, differing only in ra- and te-, illustrates the difference.

(67)a. RA-'unca-mi wobo'.
3p(GF)-*close*-PFT *door*
They closed the door/The door was closed (by somebody).

b. TE-'unca-mi wobo'.
NV-*close*-PFT *door*
The door was closed (not open).

4.3 Causative po- (column 3)

One prefix that has been reconstructed for Proto-Austronesian is the causative prefix *pa-. In Uma *pa- appears to have diversified and become several prefixes. This has created several homophonous prefixes as well as a bit of confusion. After trying various analyses, it seems best to me to posit three different verbal prefixes in Uma with the shape po-, as well as one prefix pa-. The first type of po- is the transitive po- already discussed in section 3.2. This is the po- found on Chart 3 column 2, the one often prefixed to A-foc transitive verbs but always deleted in the G-foc forms (see examples (35)-(45)).

Under discussion now is a second po- prefix, the causative derivational po- (CAUS). It is prefixed to verb roots to form stems with causative meanings.

(68) Bali' tohe'e ra-PO-tuwu' duu' mo-baja.
enemy that 3p(GF)-CAUS-*live until* INT-*light*
They kept that enemy alive until it was light.

(69) Wori' tauna to kana ta-PO-koni'.
many person REL *must we*(GF)-CAUS-*eat*
(There are) many people that we must feed (lit. *cause to eat*).

The root tuwu' *to live* becomes po-tuwu' *to cause to live, let live* as in example (68). In (69) the root koni' *to eat* becomes po-koni' *to cause to eat, to feed.*[13]

4.31 Some verbs use the po- causative derivational prefix in conjunction with the transitive derivational prefixes po-, pa- or pe- (column 5 of Chart 3) to form their causative stems. There is no difference in meaning between popo-, popa- or pope-; it is merely a matter of arbitrary verb classes.

(70) Ladi' tetu kana nu-PO-PO-nculi' hi pue'-na.
knife that must you(GF)-CAUS-TD-*return to owner-its*
You must return (lit. *cause to return*) *that knife to its owner.*

(71) To-peda' ra-PO-PA-na'u ngkai rala kapal.
person-sick 3p(GF)-CAUS-TD-*descend from inside aeroplane*
They took the sick person down (lit. *caused to descend*) *out of the aeroplane.*

(72) Tauna toe ria na-PO-PE-nto'o kapala'.
people those there he(GF)-CAUS-TD-*stop chief*
The chief made those people over there stop (working).

Examples (70), (71) and (72) all contain examples of verb roots that are basically intransitive (nculi' *to return/go home*, na'u *to descend* and nto'o *to stop*) to which have been added the causative derivational po- and a transitive derivational prefix po-, pa- or pe-. The resultant stems mean: po-po-nculi' *to take (something) back/cause (something) to be returned*, po-pa-na'u *to cause (something) to descend*, and po-pe-nto'o *to cause (somebody) to stop.*

4.32 When prefixed to nouns, the causative derivational po- has the particular function of making verb stems with the meaning *to use as such-and-such.* This is comparable to what is called purposive aspect in Da'a.

(73) Rau tetu ra-PO-'uta.
leaf that 3p(GF)-CAUS-*vegetable*
Those leaves are used for vegetables.

(74) Ane ria ana' maradika, ku-PO-tobine.
if is child nobleman I(GF)-CAUS-*woman*
If there is a nobleman's daughter, I will marry her.

The noun uta means a cooked vegetable dish. When causative po- is added, the resultant verb stem po-'uta means *to use as a vegetable dish*, as seen in example (74). Similarly tobine *woman/wife* in (74) becomes po-tobine *use as a woman/wife*, that is, to marry or have sexual relations with.

For other uses of the po- causative derivational prefix, see sections 4.52 (used with transitive derivational pa-), 4.6 (used with me- reciprocal) and 4.82 (used with the affected prefix ka-).

4.4 Attemptive pe- (column 4)

The attemptive pe- prefix (ATT) has the basic meaning of intention or deliberateness or attempt.[14] It has the following uses:

4.41 It is used to form transitive verb stems with the meaning *to test out, deliberately try to do such-and-such.* Compare the verbs in parts (a) and (b) of the examples below:

(75)a. na-'inu
he(GF)-*drink*
He drank (it).

b. na-PE-'inu
he(GF)-ATT-*drink*
He took a drink (of it).

(76)a. na-koni'
he(GF)-*eat*
He ate (it).

b. na-PE-koni'
he(GF)-ATT-*eat*
He took a taste (of it).

(77)a. na-kamu
he(GF)-*hold*
He held (it).

b. na-PE-kamu
he(GF)-ATT-*hold*
He (experimentally) took hold (of it).

(78)a. na-tadi
he(GF)-*discard*
He discarded (it).

b. na-PE-tadi
he(GF)-ATT-*discard*
He (forcibly) threw (it) out.

The above examples are all G-foc verbs with 3s actors. The first of each pair is the simple verb (for instance, 'inu *to drink* in (75a)), and the second is the verb stem derived with attemptive pe- (pe-'inu *to take a drink/to experimentally drink a little of something*). In each case the idea of testing or deliberateness is added by the prefix pe-.

Attemptive pe- is used similarly with language and dialect names. The speakers of one Uma dialect, the Tolee' dialect, are called To-tolee' *Tolee' people*. Adding the attemptive pe- prefix to this word creates a transitive verb stem pe-to-tolee' that means *to imitate a Tolee' person's accent*. Again the idea of deliberateness or attempting is involved.

4.42 Another use of attemptive pe- is to indicate that the role filling the direct object of the clause is different from the one that verb normally takes. Compare the verbs in parts (a) and (b) of the examples below.

(79)a. Na-saku wawu toe.
he(GF)-*hurl pig that*
He speared the pig.

b. Na-PE-saku walo toe.
he(GF)-ATT-*hurl bamboo that*
He hurled away the piece of bamboo.

(80)a. Neo' ra-wai'.
don't 3p(GF)-*give*
Don't give (him anything).

b. Neo' ra-PE-wai'.
don't 3p(GF)-ATT-*give*
Don't give (it to anyone).

(81)a. Ku-hubui suro-ku hilou.
I(GF)-*order messenger-my go*
I ordered my messenger to go.

b. Ku-PE-hubui m-po-patehi tuaka-na.
I(GF)-ATT-*order* AF-TR-*kill brother-his*
I ordered (someone) to kill his older brother.

In examples (79)-(81a) we see the direct object normally expected with each verb: *He speared THE PIG* (goal), *Don't give [it] to HIM* (recipient), and *I ordered my MESSENGER* (goal). But in (79)-(81b), the addition of attemptive pe- alerts us to the fact that a different role is now filling the direct object slot of the clause: *He hurled THE BAMBOO* (patient or instrument), *Don't give IT* (patient), and *I ordered TO KILL* (content). The attemptive/manipulative meaning of pe- promotes to direct object the object being manipulated or moved.

4.43 When combined with the locative suffix -i (see section 5.1), attemptive pe- forms stems that mean *to deliberately do such-and-such* or *to work around at doing such-and-such.* Again compare parts (a) and (b) in the examples below.

(82)a. Na-hilo.
he(GF)-*see*
He saw (it).

b. Na-PE-hilo-i.
he(GF)-ATT-*see*-LOC
He looked at/went to see (it).

(83)a. Na-'epe.
he(GF)-*hear*
He heard (it).

b. Na-PE-'epe-i.
he(GF)-ATT-*hear*-LOC
He listened to (it).

(84)a. rui
thorn

b. Na-PE-rui-i.
he(GF)-ATT-*thorn*-LOC
He dethorned (it).

4.44 Attemptive pe- can be combined with the causative derivational prefix po- (section 4.3) to form a prefix cluster pope- with the meaning *to request such-and-such to be done to oneself/to try and have someone else do such-and-such for oneself.*[15] Again there is an attemptive/manipulative notion in such stems. While stems formed with pope- are formally transitive, the resulting verbs are almost always used in A-foc and often in an antipassive construction (see section 3.5), such as examples (86) and (87) below. The prefix cluster pope- is glossed as REQ, requestive.

(85) Apa' ule-ku m-POPE-keni wo'o-i-mi hilou.
because worm-my AF-REQ-*carry also-he*-PFT *go*
Because my worm has again asked to be carried somewhere.

(86) M-POPE-tulungi-i hi guru-na.
AF-REQ-*help-he* *to teacher-his*
He asked his teacher for help (lit. *requested to be helped to his teacher*).

(87) Tumai-ra-mo m-POPE-pa-ka-'uru' hi Yesus.
come-they-PFT AF-REQ-TD-AFF-*well to Jesus*
They came and asked Jesus to heal them.

The prefix cluster pope- is always attached to transitive roots or stems, such as keni *carry* in (85), and tulungi *help* in (86). The verb root in (87) is 'uri' *to get well/to recover*, an intransitive root. So before the requestive pope- can be added, a transitive stem must be derived using transitive derivational pa- and affected ka- (section 4.82). Thus 'uri' *to get well* becomes pa-ka-'uri' *to cause to get well* and then pope-pa-ka-'uri' *to request to be caused to get well*, that is, *to request healing.*

4.5 Transitive derivational po-, pa-, pe- (column 5)

To continue the discussion started in section 4.3, the third type of po- prefix found in Uma is the transitive derivational prefix (abbreviated TD). It is one of a set of suppletive prefixes, po-, pa-, and pe-. In general the difference between these three prefixes is merely one of verb classes. Some verbs take one prefix to form a transitive stem, some take another. Often roots that take me- in the intransitive take pe- in the transitive, and roots that take ma- in the intransitive take pa- in the transitive. In some cases each prefix does have its own special functions.

4.51 Transitive derivational po- is attached to certain roots to make transitive stems.

(88) Ku-PO-kono-i kuna
I(GF)-TD-*like-her* AS.1s
I like her!

(89) Uma-a-pa mingki' ni-PO-doo.
not-I-INC *necessary you*(GF)-TD-*companion*
You don't have to accompany me any longer.

The root kono in example (88) is used as an intransitive verb ma-kono *to be true, correct.* In (88) it has been made into a transitive stem by the addition of po-, and the resultant meaning has shifted to *to like, prefer, be fond of.* In (89) the noun root doo *companion* is made into a transitive verb stem po-doo *to act as companion/to accompany.*

For other examples of transitive derivational po-, see sections 4.31 (used with causative po-) and 4.81 (used with affected ka-).

4.52 The transitive derivational prefix pa- often forms transitive stems with a causative meaning.

(90) Na-rumpu inewu-na na-PA-ha-ntuda.
he(GF)-*gather flock-his he*(GF)-TD-*one-group*
He gathered his flock, he made it into one group.

(91) Neo'-ta na-PA-ri'une' rewa dunia'.
don't-us 3s(GF)-TD-*under goods world*
Let's not allow ourselves to be controlled by worldly goods.

Both examples (90) and (91) show pa- used in a causative sense. In (90), hantuda *one group*, is made into a derived stem pa-hantuda *to cause to be one group*. In (91) the root is ri'une', an archaic form of the locational *under*.[16] From this is derived the transitive stem pa-ri'une' *to cause to be under* or in a figurative sense *to control, influence*.

Transitive derivational pa- is also used to derive stems with extended or figurative senses. Compare the verbs in parts (a) and (b) of the examples below.

(92)a. Napa to nu-nawu'.
what REL *you*(GF)-*fall*
What did you drop?

b. Hema to nu-PA-nawu'?
who REL *you*(GF)-TD-*fall*
Who did you trick (cause to fall)?

(93)a. Na-'ala' ule-na na-keni hilou.
he(GF)-*take worm-his he*(GF)-*carry go*
He took his worm and carried it off.

b. Na-rua' tauleru pai'-kai na-PA-keni hilou.
he(GF)-*find elf and-us he*(GF)-TD-*carry go*
An elf found us and escorted us away (lit. *caused us to be carried going*).

The root nawu' is used in its normal transitive sense *to drop, let fall* in (92a), but in (92b) the addition of transitive derivational pa- signals a figurative sense: *to trick, cause the downfall of*. The same is true of (93a) and (93b), where the root keni means *to carry* and the derived stem pa-keni means *to escort, take (a person) someplace*.

With many Uma verbs, however, pa- has no clear-cut meaning. There is an arbitrary class of verbs that take pa- to form their transitive stem. Many but not all of these verbs use ma- as their intransitive prefix. Some examples:

	Intransitive:	Transitive:
(94)a. b.	ma-jadi' *to become*	PA-jadi' *to create (something)*
(95)a. b.	ma-ngaku' *to admit*	PA-ngaku' *to admit (something)*

There are still other verbs that require both transitive derivational pa- and causative po- to form a transitive stem:

(96)a. ma-na'u *to descend*
b. PO-PA-na'u *to cause to descend*

(97)a. ma-lai *to leave*
b. PO-PA-lai *to make leave, chase away*

Some transitive verbs occur with or without pa- with almost no difference in meaning.

(98)a. Kana nu-toli.
must you(GF)-*move*
You must move it.

b. Kana nu-PA-toli.
must you(GF)-TD-*move*
You must move it.

Some Uma speakers prefer to use the derived stem pa-toli (98b) for moving something in a container, such as to move water from a bamboo container into a bucket; whereas the simpler toli (98a) they use for moving anything else, such as moving a book off a table. But there is not a clear distinction and speakers disagree about this.

Finally, transitive derivational pa- occurs as an alternate of causative po- in some verb forms. For instance, the intransitive mo-'uri' *to become well, to recover*, can form its transitive stem either as po-ka-'uri' (CAUS-AFF-*well*) or pa-ka-'uri' (TD-AFF-*well*), both meaning *to heal, cause to become well.* Even members of the same family disagree about which is 'correct'.

4.53 The third transitive derivational prefix, pe-, is used to form the transitive stem of another class of verb roots. By and large, verbs of this class use me- to form their intransitive stem. The following examples all use 1s actors:

(99)a. Me-rapi'-a.
INT-*request-I*
I make a request.

b. Ku-PE-rapi'.
I(GF)-TD-*request*
I request (it).

(100)a. Me-tibo'-a.
INT-*flee-I*
I flee.

b. Ku-PE-tibo-i'.
I(GF)-TD-*flee*-LOC
I flee from (it).

(101)a. Ma-'ahi'-a.
INT-*love-I*
I am loving.

b. Ku-PE-'ahi'.
I(GF)-TD-*love*
I love (him).

A few verbs have pe- as an inseparable part of the stem, whether transitive or intransitive. These are probably frozen forms. It is interesting to note that these verbs have meanings that are compatible with the attemptive/deliberate meaning of the attemptive pe- (see section 4.4 and note 14). Note how the roots of the following verbs begin with pe.

(102)a. me-PEkune'-a
INT-*ask-I*
I ask.

b. ku-PEkune'
I(GF)-*ask*
I ask (about it).

(103)a. me-PEnau'-a
INT-*learn-I*
I learn, imitate

b. ku-PEnau'
I(GF)-*learn*
I learn (it).

(104) ku-PErao
I(GF)-*try*
I try/test (it) out.

(105) ku-PEsoba
I(GF)-*try*
I attempt/try (it).[17]

When words such as the ones in examples (102)-(105) are reduplicated, it is the root minus the initial pe- that is reduplicated. For example: Ra-pekune'-kune' *(they-ask-ask) They asked and asked,* or Ku-perao-rao *(I-try-try) I'll give it a try.* This is evidence that the pe- was not originally part of the root.

4.6 Reciprocal me- (column 6)

The prefix me- (RECIP) is used to derive stems with the idea of reciprocity. It is always used in conjunction with the intransitive prefix mo- (column 1 of Chart 3) or the causative po- prefix (column 3).

(106) Kita mo-ME-ka'i.
lets INT-RECIP-*delouse*
Let's delouse each other!

(107) Mo-ME-weba'-ra-mo.
INT-RECIP-*hit-they*-PFT
They hit each other.

(108) Woto harao to na-po-ME-humela'.
body harao REL *he*(GF)-CAUS-RECIP-*cross*
It was the trunks of harao trees that he criss-crossed.

Examples (106) and (107) show reciprocal me- used in intransitive verbs. In both cases the intransitive mo- is present. Note in (107) that although weba' *hit* is a transitive notion, the reciprocal patterns as an intransitive, with the intransitive prefix mo- and the actor marked by a clitic pronoun -ra *they*, indicating that it is the subject of an *intransitive* verb. (108) is an example of reciprocal me- used in a transitive verb: *He caused the two tree trunks to cross over each other.*

Another reciprocal prefix, si-, is found in a few words in Uma, for instance: mo-si-sala (INT-RECIP-*wrong*) *to be different from each other/to disagree with each other.* In the Kaili language, this si- is the normal form of the reciprocal prefix.

4.7 Agent marker N- (column 7)

Some Uma verb forms have a medial nasal ligature N-. For lack of a better label, and to conform to the terminology used for Da'a, I call this N- the agent-marking prefix (abbreviated AG). The purpose of this prefix seems to be to highlight the agent or his activity rather than any object or resultant state. Both phonologically and semantically, this is similar to the verbaliser or A-foc marker N-, and historically the two affixes are probably related. The two most normal usages of the agent marker N- are with affected ka- (section 4.8), and with locative -i plus transitive po- (section 5.12); and the reader is referred there for examples.

One minimal grammatical pair has been found using this agent marking N-, and it involves the verb root pori *to wipe*.

(109) Ntinapu oa' to m-po-pori ta'i ana'-ra.
Ntinapu always REL AF-TR-*wipe excrement child-their*
It was always Ntinapu that wiped up their child's excrement.

(110) Na-'ala' ntehea na-po-po-pori ta'i.
he(GF)-*take rags he*(GF)-CAUS-TD-*wipe excrement*
He took rags and used them to wipe up the excrement.

(111) Neo'-a nu-po-po-M-pori ta'i.
don't-me you(GF)-CAUS-TD-AG-*wipe excrement*
Don't you make me wipe up excrement!

Example (109) shows the root pori in its simple transitive sense. Both (110) and (111) have a derived causative stem based on this same root. The verb stem in (110) and (111) are identical except that (111) also has the agent marking N-. The difference is in the meaning: *to use (as an instrument) to wipe with* (no N-) vs. *to make (somebody) do the wiping* (with N-).

4.8 Affected ka- (column 8).

The ka- prefix in Uma has a wide variety of uses with both nouns and verbs. The main ones dealing with verbs are covered here. The basic meaning of ka- is 'affected' (AFF), that is, it indicates that a patient has been affected by the action or state of the verb. This function is clear in some cases and obscure in others. Ka- usually occurs in combination with other affixes. The simplest example of ka- is the contrast between the intransitive verbs mo-libu' (INT-*utter*) *to utter/speak* and mo-KA-libu' (INT-AFF-*utter*) *to babble/to talk insanely.* Another interesting example is mo-KA-nganga (INT-AFF-*mouth*), based on the word nganga *mouth*, which means *to stand with mouth agape.*

4.81 Poka-

When transitive derivational po- (column 5 of Chart 3) and affected ka- are prefixed to an intransitive stem that takes experiencer as subject, the resulting transitive stem also takes experiencer as subject.

(112) Ku-po-KA-'ahi'-ko.
I(GF)-TD-AFF-*love-you*
I love you.

(113) Ng-KA-limoko danci m-po-KA-'eka' teko'.
AF-AFF-*fly* *bird* AF-TD-AFF-*afraid* *trap*
The bird flew away, fearing the trap.

(114) Ana'-ra to ra-po-KA-roe ra-jua-hi.
child-their REL *they*(GF)-TD-AFF-*angry* *they*(GF)-*sick*-LOC
(If there are) children that they are angry with, they bring sickness upon them.

Each of the three examples above uses a verb root in which the actor is an experiencer (ahi' *love*, eka' *afraid*, and roe *angry*). These roots have been made into transitive affected stems by the addition of poka-.

4.82 Poka- and paka-

The combination of causative po- (column 3 of Chart 3) and affected ka-, when added to a verb root with a stative meaning, creates a causative affected stem. The meaning of such a stem is *to cause to acquire such-and-such a state*. Some Uma speakers use the transitive derivational pa- (column 5 of Chart 3) instead of the causative po- in this construction, as mentioned in section 4.52. The choice between poka- or paka- is a matter of speaker preference.[18]

(115) Lapangan kana ra-PO-KA-langa.
airstrip *must* 3p(GF)-CAUS-AFF-*long*
The airstrip must be lengthened/be made long.

(116) Wori' to-peda' to na-PA-KA-'uri'.
many *people-sick* REL *he*(GF)-TD-AFF-*well*
He healed (caused to become well) many sick people.

Mo-langa *to be long* and mo-'uri' *to get well, to recover* are stative verbs. The addition of poka-/paka- has derived causative affected stems, *to cause to become long(er)* and *to cause to become well*. The verb in example (115) can alternately be pronounced ra-PA-ka-langa, and the verb in (116) can alternately be pronounced ra-PO-ka-'uri'.

4.83 Mengka-

The prefix cluster mengka- or ngka- added to verb roots creates stems with the meaning *to (deliberately) perform an action on oneself*. This prefix cluster is composed of intransitive me- (which is optionally deletable), agent marking N-, and affected ka-. Mengka- is often used with the reflexive prefix li- (REFL, column 9 of Chart 3) or one of its several allomorphs (see section 4.9).

(117) ME-NG-KA-ronto-i-mi tauleru.
INT-AG-AFF-*lose-he*-PFT *elf*
The elf vanished.

(118) ME-NG-KA-wuni-ra hi rala jono'.
INT-AG-AFF-*hide-they* *at* *in* *weeds*
They hid themselves in the weeds.

(119) ME-NG-KA-la-tadi-mo-ko ngkai rei.
INT-AG-AFF-REFL-*discard*-PFT-*you* *from* *here*
Throw yourself down from here!

In example (119) the root tadi *discard* is basically a transitive verb (for example: ku-tadi *I discard [it]*). The addition of mengka- and reflexive li- (here represented by the allomorph la-) derives a stem with the meaning *to throw oneself off (from a high place)*. The basic meaning of ronto in (117) is *to be lost, disappear*. The addition of mengka- thus means *to have oneself disappear, make oneself vanish*.

The prefix cluster mengka- also has a transitive form pengka- illustrated in (120) and (121) below. Pengka- is composed of transitive derivational pe-, agent marking N- and affected ka-. In (120) both the intransitive and transitive forms of the same verb are used, the former with (me)ngka-, the latter with pengka-.

(120) To NG-KA-la-tadi, m-PE-NG-KA-la-tadi-i ampa.
REL AG-AFF-REFL-*discard* AF-TD-AG-AFF-REFL-*discard*-LOC *stakes*
Those that flung themselves off (the wall), flung themselves on to sharpened stakes.

(121) Toe pai' na-pe-ng-ka-ba'i-i wae wadi ana'-na.
that why she(GF)-TD-AG-AFF-*shut.up*-LOC *thus just child-her*
That's why she just stopped talking to her child like that.

The second verb in example (120), m-pengka-la-tadi-i, is formed from A-foc N-, the prefix cluster pengka-, the reflexive li- (here the form is la-) and the locative suffix -i (indicating that the goal of the verb is a location) on the root tadi *to discard*. The resultant meaning is *to throw oneself off onto something*, in this case sharpened stakes - not a very smart thing to do in spite of the elegant morphology involved. Example (121) has a verb based on the root ba'i *to shut up/cease talking*. The intransitive form based on this root is (me)ngka-ba'i. Example (121) shows the transitive form, which uses pengka- -i.

Some verbs always are used with the prefix cluster (me)ngka-. They have no simpler morphological form. These verbs are usually activities that an agent does to himself, for example:

(122) ngka-limoko *to fly*

(123) mengka-hunca' *to commit suicide*

(124) (me)ngka-ba'i *to shut up*

4.84 Ka- -i

Affected ka- plus the locative suffix -i forms a few stems that have the meaning *to perform some activity in relationship to something*.

(125) Napa to ni-KA-hilou-I?
what REL *you*(GF)-AFF-*go*-LOC
What are you going there for?/What [place] are you going to?

(126) Neo' nu-KA-bibo-I-e'!
don't you(GF)-AFF-*naughty*-LOC-TAG
Don't you mess around with that, do you hear!

In example (125) the affected prefix ka- and locative suffix -i are added to the verb root hilou *to go*, to form a stem meaning *to go to/to go for some purpose*. In (126), the addition of ka- -i to the verb root bibo *to be naughty/to act up*,

makes a stem meaning *to be naughty in regards to something/to mess around with something.*

When this ka- -i combination is used with certain stative roots, the resultant transitive verb stems mean *to be in such-and-such a state because of something.* Such stems are always prefixed with the 3s pronoun na-; this na- does not refer to any participant in the clause, but is similar to the vague meteorological *it* of the English *it rained.*

(127) Apa' uda-a ngone, toe pai' na-KA-bengi-I-a.
because rain-VF earlier that why 3s-AFF-*dark*-LOC-*I*
Because it rained earlier, that's why I was caught in the dark/it got dark on me.

The root bengi *to be dark* in example (127) is used as the base of the stem ka-bengi-i *to be caught in the dark because of something.* Because of the rain, the speaker had to pause on his journey, and as a result says, ... *it got dark on me.*

4.9 Reflexive li- (column 9)

As mentioned in 4.83, the reflexive prefix li- (REFL) is almost always used in conjunction with the prefix cluster mengka- or pengka-, where it reinforces the reflexiveness of the action. While li- is the most commonly occurring form of this prefix, the forms la-, ra-, and ti- also occur. (The form of the reflexive prefix found in Da'a is tiN-). These allomorphs are partly created by euphony, but they could also be remnants of extinct affixes. The examples below are intransitive verb stems formed with reflexive li- (or one of its allomorphs) and (me)ngka- (INT-AG-AFF).

(128) mengka-LA-tadi *to throw oneself off* (root tadi *discard)*

(129) mengka-LA-'ura *to retreat, pull oneself back* (root ura *withdraw, go back*)

(130) mengka-RA-'uba' *to put oneself on another's back* (root uba' *carry on the back*)

(131) mengka-TI-wali *to turn oneself into (something)/to change into (something)* (root wali *to become*)

(132) ngke-LE-behi' *to flip oneself into the air (e.g. of a flea)* (from root behi' *to snap ones fingers*)

In all the examples above the reflexive meaning of li- is evident in the gloss. Of particular interest is the vowel harmony in (132). The vowels of both affected ka- and reflexive li- have become e to agree with the first syllable of the root. Similarly, (129) can be pronounced mengki-li-'ura.[19]

5.0 DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES

In contrast to the fair number of derivational prefixes in Uma, there are only two derivational suffixes used on verbs: locative -i (LOC) and verb forming -a (VF). These two are true suffixes, not enclitics, because they become part of the stem, thus affecting the placement of penultimate accent on the stem. Also, when these suffixes are attached to roots with final glottals, the final glottal

occurs after the suffix.[20] Compare the following examples of 3s clitic pronoun -i ((133a), (134a)) with the locative suffix -i ((133b) and (134b)). The syllable receiving the main phrase stress is in ALL CAPS.

(133)a. M-pali' kuLUku-i.
AF-*search coconut-he*
He is searching for coconuts.

b. Bau' toe ra-kuluKU-i.
meat that 3p(GF)-*coconut*-LOC
That meat has been cooked with coconut.

(134)a. Mo-'Ana'-i.
INT-*child-she*
She gave birth.

b. Uma-ra mo-'aNA-i'.
not-they INT-*child*-LOC
They have/possess no children.

Note that the clitic pronoun -i *he/she* does not affect the accent on the root in (133a) and (134a). The locative -i in (133b) and (134b), on the other hand, does affect the stress. Also note that the final glottal of ana' *child* occurs AFTER the locative -i in (134b); whereas this stem-final glottal does not shift position when the enclitic pronoun -i is added in (134a).

5.1 Locative -i (column 11)

The locative suffix -i is found in many Austronesian languages, and no doubt developed from a locative preposition early on in the development and spread of the Austronesian languages. In Uma the form -hi is used with some roots (see section 5.14 below); while this form -hi seems to function the same as the locative -i it may have developed from another source. The Kaili languages, for instance, have a -si suffix that often corresponds to Uma -hi (compare Kaili mate *die*, patesi *kill* with Uma mate *die* and patehi *kill*.

The primary purpose of the locative -i is to indicate that one of the participants in the verb phrase is the LOCATION of the action of the verb, rather than, say, the patient. With intransitive verbs, it is the subject that is so marked; with transitive verbs it is the object/goal (note again the ergative categorisation). It is not accurate to say that -i marks a third type of focus in addition to the A-foc and G-foc. Rather, the locative-focus function of -i works within the over-arching system of A-foc and G-foc. In the following examples note the contrast between verbs not using -i (part a) and verbs using -i (part b). The locative -i is in ALL CAPS.

(135)a. Pae pulu' to ta-tuja'.
rice sticky REL *we*(GF)-*plant*
It was sticky rice that we planted.

b. Bonea kapala' to ta-tuja-I'.
field chief REL *we*(GF)-*plant*-LOC
(It was) the chief's field that we planted in.

(136)a. Na-po-po-kore watu toe.
he(GF)-CAUS-TD-*stand rock that*
He stood the rock up/made the rock stand.

b. Na-po-kore-I watu toe.
he(GF)-TD-*stand*-LOC *rock that*
He stood on that rock.

(137)a. Loka' taha' na-po-'opa.
bananas ripe he(GF)-CAUS-*bait*
He used ripe bananas for bait.

b. Doa peka-na na-'opa-I.
pole fishing-his he(GF)-*bait*-LOC
He put bait on his fishing pole.

In example (135) rice is *planted* (tuja'), but fields are *planted-IN* (tuja-I'). In (136), a rock can be *made-to-stand* (popokore) or used as a location to *stand-ON* (pokore-I). In (137), bananas are *used-as-bait* (po'opa) but poles are used to *put-bait-ON* (opa-I). This is the primary use of locative -i in Uma, and it is quite similar to the -i suffix of Indonesian (compare the Indonesian sentence: Rumah itu dilempar-I batu *The house was thrown-AT with rocks*). Locative -i can also be used with several different prefixes.

5.11 Mo- -i

The intransitive prefix mo- (column 1 of Chart 3) plus locative -i means *to have or possess such-and-such.*

(138) mo-witi-I' *to have legs (e.g. of a chair)* (from witi' *leg*)

(139) mo-tobine-I *to have a wife, be married.* (from tobine *woman*)

(140) mo-baju-I *to have a shirt on* (from baju *shirt*)

In such examples the LOCATIVE concept of -i is used to encode relationships such as body-part (example (138)) or kinship (139).

5.12 Po- -i and poN- -i

The transitive derivational po- plus locative -i means *to use as a place for doing such-and-such.* The agent-marker N- is also used if the verb root is transitive.

(141) Ali' naho biasa ra-PO-turu-I ba ra-PO-M-pu'ai-I.
mat pandanus usually 3p(GF)-TD-*lie.down*-LOC *or* 3p(GF)-TD-AG-*dry*-LOC
A pandanus mat is usually used-as-a-place-to-sleep-on or used-as-a-place-to-dry-(rice)-on.

(142) Ra-po-po-mai anitu ra-PO-M-pekune-I' ba hema to
they(GF)-CAUS-TD-*come spirit they*(GF)-TD-AG-*ask*-LOC .. *who* REL
m-paha'a bola'.
AF-*carry lumber*
They summoned the spirits and asked them who had carried off the lumber.

Example (141) has two examples of locative -i with po-, the first with the intransitive root turu *lie down*, the second with the transitive root pu'ai *to dry (something) in the sun.* Note that this second verb, being transitive, also uses agent marker N-. Example (142) shows the same po-N- -i construction in a more figurative usage. Normally the transitive verb ra-pekune' (*they-ask*) takes

as its goal/object the statement asked: *they asked [something].* But the po-N--i construction with pekune' indicates that the goal of the verb is the person asked, the source inquired of. So ra-po-m-pekune-i' can be translated, *they inquired of [someone].*

5.13 Verbs that take experiencer as actor often form causatives using -i, in which the experiencer is then the goal. Such an encoding of experiencer as a locative is a phenomenon common in many languages.

(143)a. ku-hilo
I(GF)-*see*
I see (it).

b. ku-po-po-hilo-I
I(GF)-CAUS-TD-*see*-LOC
I show (him)/cause (him) to see.

(144)a. ku-'inca
I(GF)-*know*
I know (it).

b. ku-po-po-'inca-I
I(GF)-CAUS-TD-*know*-LOC
I cause (him) to know/I inform (him).

Note in the two above examples that the verb form in part (a) has an experiencer for actor: *I see, I know.* The corresponding verb in part (b), a derived causative verb using the locative suffix -i, has an experiencer for goal: *I cause HIM to see, I cause HIM to know.*

5.14 The locative -i has the form -hi with certain verbs.

(145) Iko-mi to m-po-time-HI ohea pue'.
you-PFT REL AF-TD-*cut*-LOC *road Lord*
You will be the one to clear/cut the Lord's road.

(146) Na-jua-HI mpu'u-mi seta ana'-ku.
he(GF)-*sick*-LOC *really*-PFT *demon child-my*
The demon made my child really sick.

Example (145) uses the verb root time *to cut/chop.* Trees, brush and such can be ra-time *chopped*, but a road is ra-time-HI, the location that is *chopped out.* In example (146) the nearly obsolete root jua *to be sick* is made transitive with the addition of the suffix -hi: as in the examples in section 5.13, the goal of the verb in (146) is experiencer: na-jua-HI *he causes (someone) to be sick.*

5.15 A certain class of transitive verbs are suffixed with locative -i when they are negated. Most of the verbs in this class have to do with sense experience or human ability. This use of -i does not have any locative or other semantic function, but is a syntactic peculiarity of these verbs.[21] Compare the positive and negative forms of the verbs below, all 1s G-foc.

(147)a. ku-'epe
I hear (it).

b. uma ku-'epe-i
I don't hear (it).

(148)a. ku-'inca
I know (it).

b. uma ku-'inca-i
I don't know (it).

(149)a. ku-rata
I obtain (it).

b. uma ku-rata-i
I don't obtain (it).

(150)a. ku-kule'
I am able.

b. uma ku-kule-i'
I am not able (to do it).

5.2 Verb forming -a

The verb forming suffix -a (VF) derives verb stems with a qualitative or existential meaning. When suffixed to nouns, the resultant intransitive verb means *to be characterised by the presence of* or *for such-and-such to be present.*

(151) Neo' ra-koni', onti-A'.
don't 3p(GF)-*eat ant*-VF
Don't eat it, it's anty!

(152) Rege-A' ohea-ta.
mud-VF *road-our*
Our road is muddy.

(153) Me-'eka'-a hilou apa' tau-A.
INT-*afraid-I go because headhunter*-VF
I'm afraid to go because there are headhunters.

Examples (151)-(153) each contain a verb formed from a noun stem (onti' *ant*, rege' *mud* and tau *headhunter*). Verb forming -a derives intransitive verbs from these nouns that are often translatable into English using adverbs with a -y suffix (*anty, muddy*).

When suffixed to a verb root, -a forms new verb stems with meanings different from but related to the meaning of the original root. Compare the verbs in parts (a) and (b) below:

(154)a. ku-'uli'
I(GF)-*say*
I said.

b. ku-'uli-A'
I(GF)-*say*-VF
I guess/reckon. (or in some dialects: *I sing*)

(155)a. na-kiwoi
he(GF)-*remember*
He remembered (it).

b. kiwoi-A-i
remember-VF-*he*
He is conscious.

6.0 OTHER VERB STEM AFFIXES

There are other affixes used to derive verb stems that are not included on Chart 3. These affixes rarely occur, and they are not included because they seem to function independently of the affix ordering shown on the chart. I illustrate some of these affixes here. (The affixes in question are glossed merely with an asterisk.)

6.1 Mpaki-/mpati-

The prefix cluster mpaki- (alternately pronounced mpati-) forms a transitive verb stem, always A-foc in my data, with the meaning *to accuse of such-and-such.* It is used with only a few roots.

(156) MPATI-boa'
**-lie*
to call (someone) a liar, accuse of lying

(157) MPATI-jampa
**-greedy*
to accuse of being greedy

6.2 Mpara- (-a)

The prefix cluster mpara-, often accompanied by the suffix -a, creates an intransitive verb with the diffuse meaning *all sort of (things/people) doing such-and-such* or *such-and-such happening all over the place.*

(158) MPARA-nangko-A doo-na hi ue.
**-float-* friend-his in water*
His friends were floating all over in the water.

(159) Na-hilo tauna MPARA-bungku' MPARA-bungku', lima-ra.
he(GF)-*see people *-stoop *-stoop five-they*
He saw people (going by) all stooped over, five of them.

The root nangko means *to float.* In example (158) it is used with mpara- -a to mean *a bunch of things floating all over.* Similarly in (159), from the simple root bungku' *to be stooped over* is derived mpara-bungku' *a bunch of (people) all stooped over.*

6.3 Ka- + column 1 + ROOT (REDUP + LENGTH) + -a

A preclitic ka- (not the same as affected ka-) and the suffix -a can be added to a root, the first syllable of which has been reduplicated and the vowel doubled, to produce a stem that means *more and more/increasingly such-and-such.*

Prefixes from column 1 of Chart 3 that occur with the root are also retained in this construction.

(160) KA-mo-laa-langko-A
*-INT-REDUP+LENGTH-*tall*-VF
become taller and taller

In (160) the simple intransitive verb mo-langko *to be long* has had the first syllable of its root reduplicated and lengthened, and the affixes ka- and -a added. The following example shows the same construction with the intransitive roots bohe *to be big* and pante *to be smart*.

(161) KA-boo-bohe-A, KA-paa-pante-A.
*-REDUP+LENGTH-*big*-VF *-REDUP+LENGTH-*smart*-VF
The bigger he got, the smarter he got.

6.4 Poti- + ROOT (REDUP + LENGTH)

The prefix cluster poti- on a root with a reduplicated lengthened first syllable produces a transitive verb stem (always G-foc in my data) meaning *to do such-and-such over and over.*

(162) Ra-POTI-SAA-sampei pokowa'-ra.
they (GF)-*-REDUP+LENGTH-*exchange pole-their*
They exchanged their carrying poles over and over.

(163) Na-POTI-PEE-pe-hilo-i.
he (GF)-*-REDUP+LENGTH-ATT-*see*-LOC
He went again and again to see (it).

The simple forms of the verbs in (162) and (163) without the poti- REDUP+LENGTH are ra-sampei *they exchanged* and na-pe-hilo-i *he went to see.* In (163) the stem pe-hilo-i (ATT-*see*-LOC) is first formed from the root hilo *to see*, and this in turn becomes the base to which the poti- REDUP+LENGTH construction is applied.

6.5 Po-i- -i/po-hi- -i

Transitive derivational po- plus the embedded preposition i or hi *at*, along with the locative -i creates a root meaning *to do such-and-such to something along with something else.*

(164) Uma muntu' kutu to na-tilo', hante woto rone na-PO-I-'ome-I'.
not only louse REL *he* (GF)-*peck with body wren he* (GF)-TD-*at-swallow*-LOC
It wasn't just the louse that he pecked up, but he SWALLOWED the body of the wren ALONG WITH it!

(165)a. Na-'ala' mpuga to uma te-lulu,
he (GF)-*take fibers* REL *not* NV-*roll*

b. na-putu'-ki woto-na pai' na-PO-HI-tomo-I'
he (GF)-*wrap*-BEN.3s *body-his and he* (GF)-TD-*at-bind*-LOC

c. hante to te-lulu.
with REL NV-*roll*

(a) *He took the palm fibers that were not rolled up,* (b) *he wrapped them around his body, and BOUND IT UP TOGETHER* (c) *with what was already rolled up.*

In example (164) the transitive verb na-'ome' *he swallowed (it)*, has po-i- -i added to it to make na-po-i-'ome-i' *he swallowed (it) together with (something else)*. Similarly in (165), na-tomo' *he bound (it) up* plus po-hi- -i give the form na-po-hi-tomo-i' *he bound (it) up together with (something else)*.

7.0 THE VERB PHRASE

All of the affixes discussed so far are attached to a root to form the verb stem and verb word, as displayed in Chart 3. The verb word in turn is the central unit of the verb phrase.

Chart 4 displays the various elements that make up the Uma verb phrase. This chart is meant to be an aid to the reader, not a precise linguistic formula. As with Chart 3, no co-occurrence restrictions are shown. Also, the negative and auxiliary verbs technically do not belong in the verb phrase formula, for, as will be seen in section 7.5, the negative and auxiliaries are actually verbs imbedded within the verb phrase. But for ease of description, the negative and auxiliary are shown in Chart 4 so the reader can see how they fit into the linear order of things.

7.1 Before plunging into an abstract description of each part of the verb phrase, let us look at a few typical Uma verb phrases. In the following examples, the number above each morpheme refers to the column in Chart 4 in which that part belongs.

(166)
```
        4   6 7        13
Ane rata-i-pi      mpai' ...
if  arrive-he-CONT later
When he arrives ...
```

(167)
```
             4        7-8  10  11    13
Tumai me-nunu'      wada ka-kaiwo ngone.
come  INT-tree.bark just we-AS.1p earlier
We just came here to gather tree bark earlier.
```

(168)
```
 1          4    5  6
Bate      rede' oa'-i.
certainly short unchangingly-he
It remained short.
```

(169)
```
  4  6  7  8 12
Sepa-i-mi-di-le!
kick-him-PFT-CTR-tag
Go ahead and kick him!
```

Let us now make a few general comments about Chart 4 and these examples.

Chart 4: Uma verb phrase

Column: 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Preverbal adverb			VERB PHRASE NUCLEUS		Clitic pn.	Aspectual Clitics			Clitic pn.	Emotive clitics	Tags	Temporal adverbs
bate *certainly* ntora *continually*	Negative (clitic raising rule)	Auxiliary verb	VERB STEM (from Chart 3)	Postverbal adverb mpu'u *really* oa' *anyway* etc.	-a *I* -i *s/he* -ra *they* -ta *we*(in)	-mi (PFT) -pi (CONT) pidi *still* wadi *merely* damo *just*	-di (CTR) -wa	-ki (BEN)	-ko *you*(s) -kai *we*(ex) -koi *you*(p)	hawo (CM) hana (AS) tano (SPEC) tawo (INS)	le -e -e' le' pe'	mpai' *later* we'i *earlier* etc.

7.11 Suppletive morphemes that belong to the same class are put in one column. For instance, perfective -mi and continuative -pi are both in column 7; they cannot co-occur since their meanings are incompatible. Also note that columns 6 and 10 are joined at the bottom. A clitic pronoun from column 6 cannot co-occur with a clitic pronoun from column 10; both of these columns of pronouns are really only one morpheme class, but certain of the pronouns occur before the clitics in columns 7-9 (for example: turu-a-ma *(lie-I-*PFT*) I am lying down*) while certain other pronouns occur after these clitics (turu-ma-kai *(lie-*PFT*-we) We are lying down*).

7.12 Each verb phrase has a main phonological accent, louder than the accent on the individual words within it. This phrase accent falls on the penultimate syllable of column 5, the postverbal adverb, or, if there is no postverbal adverb, on the penultimate syllable of the verb stem itself in column 4. For instance, in example (168) the verb phrase accent falls on the adverb oa'. If this adverb were not present, the phrase accent would fall on the verb rede'.

7.13 Note that in general I hyphenate one-syllable clitics, but two-syllables I write as separate words. This is not to indicate any formal distinction, but to help break up some otherwise lengthy strings of clitics. Nor is my system of hyphenation in this paper intended to reflect Uma orthography. The question of how to write these clitics orthographically has long plagued me and Umas who have attempted to write their language. Examples (166)-(169) written orthographically by my current rules are:

(166)a. Ane rata-ipi mpai' ...

(167)a. Tumai menunu' wada ka-kaiwo ngone.

(168)a. Bate rede' oa'-i.

(169)a. Sepa-imi dile!

7.2 Adverbs

There are two classes of general adverbs in Uma: preverbal adverbs (column 1) and postverbal adverbs (column 5). Chart 5 lists the more common adverbs found in each set, with approximate glosses.

Chart 5: Adverbs

Preverbal	Postverbal
bate *certainly, nonetheless*	mpu'u *really, indeed*
ntora *continually*	oa' *still, anyway*
neo' *almost* (temporal)	rahi *so, very*
lako' *just* (temporal)	moto *indeed*
jau *often*	lau *simply, just*
sohi' *quickly*	tena *again, further*
bila' *already*	wo'o *also, again*
	ami' *from the first*
	lia *exceedingly*

The preverbal adverb may be separated from the verb by a negative or auxiliary verb, but the postverbal adverb always follows immediately after the verb. The verb and the postverbal adverb together form the VERB PHRASE NUCLEUS, which receives the main phonological stress of the phrase. The postverbal adverb is in a sense incorporated into the verb in much the same way as object incorporation (section 3.5). Contrast the following two clauses (syllable receiving phrase stress in ALL CAPS):

(170)a. HiLOu-i-mi.
go-he-PFT
He went.

b. Hilou WO'o-i-mi.
go also-he-PFT
He went again.

In (170a) the main stress of the phrase falls on the verb hilou *go*; but in (170b) the adverb wo'o *again* is added, and the main stress thus falls on it.

7.21 Besides the general adverbs listed on Chart 5, there is also a host of specialised postverbal adverbs. Most of these can be used with only one or two verbs, and they are used to create colourful or idiomatic expressions. Like the general adverbs, they are two-syllable morphemes and take the main accent of the verb phrase. Some examples are given below. The idiomatic English glosses given for each phrase below reflect only the meaning of the phrase as a whole, not the exact lexical content of the adverbs.

(171) bula ngea'
white very
very white/snow white

(172) ponu' jongke'
full very
brim full

(173) mo-ruhu' ngehu'
INT-*skinny very*
skinny as a rail

(174) momi' jiju'
sweet very
very sweet

7.22 Besides the two-syllable adverb morphemes noted so far, it is also possible to embed entire phrases or clauses into the postverbal adverb slot. These are usually idiomatic in nature. In the examples below, the phrase embedded in the postverbal adverb slot is in ALL CAPS.

(175) Mo-roli' MPO-NTOLU MANU'-mi nono-na.
INT-*clean like-egg chicken*-PFT *heart-his*
His heart is as clean as an egg/He is sincere.

(176) Ra-doa HI RAU ME-'IMPO'-i-mi.
they(GF)-*welcome on leaf* INT-*intact-him*-PFT
They welcomed him on an untorn leaf (i.e. gave him the red carpet treatment).

In example (175) the phrase mpo-ntolu manu' *like a chicken egg* is functioning as an adverb to modify the main verb moroli' *smooth, clean.* This phrase is embedded in the postverbal adverb slot, and so it is part of the verb phrase nucleus; note that the clitic -mi is placed *after* this phrase. The main accent of the verb phrase falls on the word manu'. The same pattern is seen in (176), where the prepositional phrase hi rau me'impo' *on an intact leaf* is filling the postverbal adverb slot.

7.3 Postverbal clitics

A number of clitics follow the verb phrase nucleus. These can be divided into four categories: clitic pronouns (column 6 and 10), aspectual clitics (columns 7, 8, 9), emotive clitics (column 11) and tag clitics (column 12).[22]

The clitic pronouns react morphophonemically with the aspectual clitics, causing vowel harmony and ordering changes. Given in Chart 6 are the forms for the clitics -mi perfective, -pi continuative, -di contrastive, and -ki benefactive with the seven different clitic pronouns.[23]

Chart 6: Morphophonemics of aspectual clitics and clitic pronouns

		Perfective -MI	
Singular:	1	tumai-a-ma	*I came*
	2	tumai-mo-ko*	*You came*
	3	tumai-i-mi	*S/He came*
Plural:	1	tumai-ma-kai*	*We*(ex) *came*
	2	tumai-mo-koi*	*You*(p) *came*
	3	tumai-ra-mo	*They came*
	1+2	tumai-ta-mo	*We*(in) *came*
		Continuative -PI	
Singular:	1	ane tumai-a-pa	*If I come*
	2	ane tumai-po-ko*	*If you come*
	3	ane tumai-i-pi	*If s/he comes*
Plural:	1	ane tumai-pa-kai*	*If we*(ex) *come*
	2	ane tumai-po-koi*	*If you*(p) *come*
	3	ane tumai-ra-pa**	*If they come*
	1+2	ane tumai-ta-pa**	*If we*(in) *come*
		Contrastive -DI*	
Singular:	1	tumai-a-da	*In fact I came!*
	2	tumai-da-ko	*In fact you came!*
	3	tumai-i-di	*In fact s/he came!*
Plural:	1	tumai-da-kai	*In fact we*(ex) *came!*
	2	tumai-da-koi	*In fact you*(p) *came!*
	3	tumai-ra-da	*In fact they came!*
	1+2	tumai-ta-da	*In fact we*(in) *came!*
		Benefactive -KI	
Singular:	1	na-wai'-ka	*He gave [it] to me.*
	2	na-wai'-ko-ko	*He gave [it] to you.*
	3	na-wai'-ki	*He gave [it] to him/her.*

Chart 6 (cont'd)

Plural:	1	na-wai'-ka-kai	*He gave [it] to us*(ex).
	2	na-wai'-ko-koi	*He gave [it] to you*(p).
	3	na-wai'-ra-ka	*He gave [it] to them.*
	1+2	na-wai'-ta-ka	*He gave [it] to us*(in).

*In some people's speech, the vowel of the aspectual clitic remains i in the 2s, 1p and 2p forms of -mi and -pi and in all forms of -di. Also, in the Tolee' and Winatu dialects the pronoun forms -kai and -koi are -kami and -komi.

**For the 3p and 1+2 forms of -pi, some speakers say -rapo and -tapo *instead of* -rapa and -tapa, imitating the pattern of the -mi conjugation.

Let us take the most common aspectual clitic perfective -mi as an example. The base form in modern Uma is -mi, since this is the form found in most simple utterances with no clitic pronouns (for instance, oti-mi (*gone*-PFT) *all gone*). But the form -mi occurs in the paradigm only in the 3s. In all other cases the variants -mo or -ma occur. The -ma/-mo variants are the result of vowel harmony, the vowel of -mi changing to agree with the first vowel of the pronoun. But the changes are not regular. The 3p and 1+2 are not *-rama and *-tama as one would expect from simple vowel harmony, but -ramo and -tamo. From such irregularities and from comparison with the other Kaili-Pamona languages, it is obvious that *-mo used to be the base form and that only recently did the base form become -mi in Uma, probably by coalescence with the 3s pronoun.

The asterisked forms on Chart 6 are those forms in which the vowel of the aspectual clitic does not change morphophonemically in the speech of some Uma speakers, for example: turu-MI-ko vs. turu-MO-ko (*lie*-PFT-*you*) *(You) lie down* (imperative)! The fact that this variation is present in present-day Uma is an indication that Uma is in the process of change. To me the most probable explanation of this variation is that the clitic pronouns in Uma are in process of drifting away the verb and becoming independent words. The three pronouns -ko *you*(s), -koi *you*(p), and -kai *we*, have for some reason drifted farther than the others, with the result that they now occur after the aspectual clitics rather than before. And for some Uma speakers at least, these three pronouns have drifted so far away that they no longer cause the vowel of the aspectual clitics to harmonise.[24]

7.31 Perfective -mi (column 7)

Many languages in Sulawesi have a perfective suffix or enclitic with the shape -mi or -mo. In Uma the base form of the perfective clitic is -mi, but the forms -mo and -ma also occur.

(177) Hilou-ra-MO.
go-they-PFT
They already left.

(178) Bohu-a-MA mpai'.
full-I-PFT
I'll be full.

(179) Bohe-i-MI.
big-it-PFT
It has become big.

The basic meaning of -mi is completed action. In all the above examples, -mi adds an element of finality or completeness of action. In examples (176) and (177) it is translated as *already*. In (178) the perfectiveness can only be brought out by an awkward translation like *I will then be ALREADY full.* In (179) the addition of perfectivity to a stative verb bohe *big* indicates a change of state: *It has become big.*

The clitic -mi can also optionally be affixed to imperatives to strengthen the command. This is optional with transitive imperatives, but almost obligatory with intransitives and cohortatives.

(180) Ala'-mi!
take-PFT
Take it!

(181) Hilou-mi-koi hi Peana!
go-PFT-*you* *to Peana*
Go to Peana!

(182) Hilou-ta-mo hi Peana!
go-we-PFT *to Peana*
Let's go to Peana!

Example (180) illustrates transitive imperatives. Transitive imperatives are always G-foc and the non-topic actor pronoun (nu- *you*(s) or ni- *you*(p)) is deleted. Example (181) illustrates an intransitive imperative. Example (182) is a cohortative. The use of the perfective clitic on commands is similar to the colloquial English *Take it already!* or *Let's go already!*

The functions of perfective -mi can only be adequately explained by reference to discourse structure (see Gregerson 1986). -Mi is used within a discourse to distinguish FIGURE from GROUND. That is, it causes a foregrounded event to stand out from the background. Consider the following excerpt from a narrative (-mi is in ALL CAPS).

(183)a. Na-'ona'-MI witi'-na.
he(GF)-*extend*-PFT *foot-his*

b. Ra-huka' pokowa'-ra, rede'.
they(GF)-*measure* *pole-their* *short*

c. Ra-sampei wo'o-MI bona m-po-huka' kalanga-na.
they(GF)-*exchange* *again*-PFT *so* AF-TR-*measure* *length-its*

d. Bula-ra lou m-po-'ala' to mo-langa, na-kohu wo'o-MI witi'-na
while-they go AF-TR-*get* REL INT-*long* *he*(GF)-*curl* *again*-PFT *foot-his*
nculii'.
return

e. Tumai ra-huka', mo-langa rahi pokowa'.
come *they*(GF)-*measure* INT-*long* *very* *pole*

f. Mo-lolita-ra-MO kiu ...
INT-*say-they*-PFT *ghost*

(a) *He STRETCHED out his feet.* (b) *When they measured their carrying poles, they were short.* (c) *They EXCHANGED them for long ones.* (d) *While they were going to get long ones, he CURLED his feet back up.* (e) *When they came to measure him, their poles were way too long.* (f) *The ghosts SAID ...*

Verbs that have a perfective -mi in Uma are written in ALL CAPS in the English translation. Notice how the verbs that have -mi form the event line of the story. This is one function of perfective -mi in discourse.

7.32 Continuative -pi (column 7)

The clitic -pi (CONT) has a continuative or additive meaning. It is the opposite or complement of perfective -mi. Unlike other languages the Kaili-Pamona subgroup, Uma lacks a verbal prefix marking realis and irrealis. To some extent, the clitic -pi has assumed some of the functions of the irrealis mood.

The basic meaning of -pi can be seen most clearly when contrasted with some other clitics. Example (184) below contrasts perfective -mi, continuative -pi and the adverbial clitic pidi.

(184)a. Ria-MI koni'.
is-PFT *rice*
There is already rice.

b. Ria PIDI koni'.
is still rice
There is still some rice.

c. Ria-PI koni'.
is-CONT *rice*
There is more rice.

All three of the above clauses can describe the same situation. In (184a), the perfective -mi emphasises that there is already some rice (though you may have thought there wasn't any yet). The pidi in (184b) says there is still some rice (but implies that there may be imminent danger of it running out). The -pi of (184c) more optimistically asserts that the rice has not run out, there is more.

The usages of continuative -pi can be subdivided into five kinds: 1) continuative, 2) with negatives, 3) with conditionals, 4) in comparisons, and 5) in procedural discourse.

7.32.1

The basic continuative meaning of -pi has already been illustrated in example (184). The clitic -pi in Uma is similar to the Indonesian adverb lagi *yet, more.*

7.32.2

When -pi combines with a negative word (uma *not*, bela *not* (negates nouns), neo' *don't*), the resultant meaning is *not any more, no longer.*

(185) Uma-PI ria koni'.
not-CONT *is rice*
There isn't ANY MORE rice.

(186) Ngkai ree, uma-ra-PA daho' m-po-mohu-i' alo'.
*from there not-they-*CONT *dare* AF-TR-*near-*LOC *hornbill*
From then on, they did not dare approach a hornbill ANY LONGER.

Example (185) parallels (184a-c) earlier; it is the negative of (184c). In (186) a well-meaning hornbill tried to peck a louse off of his small friend the wren, but ended up swallowing the wren as well! That's why wrens will no longer (uma ... -pa) come close to hornbills.

7.32.3 In Uma most conditional clauses are formed with the conjunction ane *if, when*. The predicate in such a conditional clause may or may not be modified by -pi. Consider this excerpt from a folk tale (-pi's in all caps in Uma and verbs with -pi's are in ALL CAPS in the translation).

(187)a. Goe' lau-ra-mo tuaka-na,
*glad just-they-*PFT *sibling-his*

b. apa' ra-'uli' ane hilou-i dohe-ra
because they(GF)*-say if go-he with-them*

c. ane nculii'-ra-PA mpai'
*if return-they-*CONT *later*

d. ra-palahii-i-mi rala wana', bona mate
they(GF)*-leave-him-*PFT *in jungle so die*

e. ane puha-i-PI.
*if lost-he-*CONT

(a) *His older brothers were actually glad,* (b) *because they thought if he goes with them,* (c) *when they RETURN home later* (d) *they could leave him in the jungle, so that he would die* (e) *when he GOT LOST.*

Of the three conditional clauses in example (187) (b, c, e), -pi is used in two of them (c, e). There apparently is only a shade of difference in meaning between the presence and absence of -pi in such conditional clauses. Perhaps the -pi has an irrealis function, signifying the futurity of the event. Consider the four following clauses, all of which mean basically *If/when he comes*, but each is modified by a different clitic (no clitic in (a), -pi in (b), -mi in (c), and damo in (d)). The translations approximate the distinctions among these clauses and give possible continuations to the sentences.

(188)a. ane tumai-i
if come-he
If he comes (hypothetical) *(he will be the first Finn we have seen).*

b. ane tumai-i-PI
*if come-he-*CONT
When he comes (future) *(our bamboo band will greet him)*

c. ane tumai-i-MI
*if come-he-*PFT
When he has come (assumed fulfilment) *(then the women will begin to make coffee)*

d. ane tumai-i DAMO
if come-he thus
When he has indeed arrived (as I said he would) (then we'll have a party)

7.32.4 A fourth usage of -pi is to encode comparisons.

(189) Baru to lahe'-PI to lompe'.
palm.wine REL *cold*-CONT REL *good*
Cold (i.e. *aged*) *palm wine is better (than new).*

(190) Mo-roho-PI konore ngkai ki'ou'.
INT-*strong*-CONT *konore from spruce*
Konore wood is stronger than spruce wood.

There is a semantic link between the continuative meaning of -pi and this comparative function. New palm wine is good, but the goodness of the old wine CONTINUES ON BEYOND that of the new. Likewise, both konore (a type of hardwood) and spruce are strong, but the strength of konore GOES BEYOND that of spruce. (Note also that the normally locative preposition ngkai *from* is used to mean *than* in example (190).)

7.32.5 In procedural discourse, -pi is frequently used to mark verbs in tail-head linkages. By this I mean the modified repetition of a previous clause before moving on to new information. The clauses written in all caps in the translation are the ones containing a -pi.

(191)a. Lomo'-lomo'-na ta-toki.
first-first-its we(GF)-*chop*

b. Oti-PI ta-toki, ta-pe-holu-i rau-na.
done-CONT *we*(GF)-*chop we*(GF)-TD-*slice*-LOC *leaf-its*

c. Oti-PI toe, ta-buhu'-buhu'.
done-CONT *that we*(GF)-*section-section*

d. Oti-pi ta-buhu', ta-paha'a tumai hi tomi.
done-CONT *we*(GF)-*section we*(GF)-*carry come to house*

e. Rata-ra-PO hi tomi, ta-sehe-mi.
arrive-they-CONT *at house we*(GF)-*flatten*-PFT

(a) *First we chop them (the bamboo) down.* (b) *AFTER WE CHOP THEM DOWN, we slice off the leaves.* (c) *AFTER THAT, we cut them into sections.* (d) *AFTER WE CUT THEM INTO SECTIONS, we carry them here to the house.* (e) *WHEN THEY ARRIVE AT THE HOUSE, we flatten them.*

In this procedural discourse on how to make a bamboo wall, the speaker is viewing the procedure as hypothetical. Thus the -pi is used somewhat like an irrealis or a subjunctive: *this is what we can/will/might do.* [25]

7.33 Contrastive -di

The clitic -di (CTR) has a pinpointing or contrasting effect on the predicate. Clauses with verb phrases containing -di usually end with a rising intonation instead of the normal falling intonation. -Di functions in two basic ways: contra-expectation and to state alternatives.

7.33.1 The contra-expectation meaning of -di is used in a variety of situations. In conversation, -di is used to correct someone's mistake or error and to assert the truth. It can be translated *in fact/actually/but rather.*

(192)a. Ba mo-hura-i retu?
perhaps INT-*sit-he there*
Is he going to sit there?

b. Uma, turu-i-DI.
no lie-he-CTR
No IN FACT he's going to lie down.

In example (192a) one person asks if so-and-so is going to sit in a certain place; this assumes that so-and-so is indeed going to sit. In (192b), another person corrects this wrong assumption, using -di and rising intonation. -Di can also be used in combination with the particle hawo (section 7.37) to correct a slip of the tongue, for example:

(193)a. Hema to m-po-'oli toe-e?
who REL AF-TR-*buy that*-tag

b. Tina Lin ... Tina Lii-DI HAWO
Mother Lin ... Mother Lii-CTR CM.3s

(a) *'Who bought that, huh?'* (b) *'Lin's mother ... (oops, actually I mean) Lii's mother.'*

Note in (193b), the speaker corrects his original slip-of-the-tongue with the two clitics -di hawo.

In connected narrative, -di is used to highlight a striking statement, usually one that points out an error in thinking or an unexpected happening.

(194)a. Taha'-mi koni' ra-kola'-mi.
cooked-PFT *rice they*(GF)-*scoop*-PFT

b. Uma-DI kaliliu ng-koni' we'i,
not-CTR *immediately* AF-*eat earlier*

c. ra-kola' dole.
they(GF)-*scoop idle*

(a) *When the rice was done, they scooped it up (into their plates).*
(b) *(But) THEY DIDN'T (contrary to expectation) eat it immediately,*
(c) *they simply scooped it up and left it there.*

One would normally expect people to eat their rice as soon as it had been spooned on to their plates. But IN FACT (-di) the people in the story from which example (194) was taken did not do so. Thus -di in (194) marks something contrary to the expectations of the listeners. In example (195) below it is not the listener but the main character himself who is mistaken.

(195)a. Goe'-mi maradika apa' na-'uli'
glad-PFT *nobleman for he*(GF)-*say*

b. ka m-po-rodo once posusaa' mpu'u-ra-mo.
that AF-TD-*prepare rice party really-they*-PFT

c. Ntaa' ma-lai-ra-mo-DI!
but INT-*leave-they*-PFT-CTR

(a) *The nobleman was happy, for he thought* (b) *that they (his slaves) were preparing rice for the party.* (c) *But IN FACT they had run away!*

In this example -di is used to highlight the irony of the situation. The nobleman assumes his slaves are busy at work. But IN FACT (ntaa' ... -di) they have run away. -Di is often used to reinforce the conjunctions ntaa' *but/rather* and api' *in fact/actually*.

Another specific contra-expectational usage of -di is with the temporal adverb lako' *just, only*. The -di intensifies the unexpectedness of the time element, with the resultant meaning *only after this time did such-and-such happen.*

(196) Pitu mengi pitu eo, lako' poro'-DI apu.
seven night seven day just die-CTR *fire*
After seven days and nights, ONLY THEN did the fire die.

In example (196) the -di emphasises how unexpectedly long the fire burned before going out.

In questions the clitic -di adds an element of surprise/unexpectedness, which the English translations below try to capture.

(197) Ibo', ba leta'-DA-ko kona!
monkey perhaps sleep-CTR-*you* AS.2s
Monkey! could you ACTUALLY be asleep!?

(198) Napa-DI kona pai' ng-ala'-ko kiu nu-po-tobine-e!?
what-CTR AS.2s *reason* AF-*take-you corpse you*(GF)-TD-*woman*-tag
Why IN THE WORLD did you take a corpse and marry it!?

7.33.2 In all of the usages above the clitic -di carries the idea of contra-expectation or surprise. A different usage of -di is to show 'deliberation' or to mark alternative choices.

(199) To'uma to ra-pokono: tuwu' liu-liu-DI ba mate-DI?
which REL *they*(GF)-*like live on-on*-CTR *or die*-CTR
Which WOULD they prefer: to live on, or to die?

(200) To'uma to ku-'ala': to bo'u-DI atau to hae?
which REL *I*(GF)-*take* REL *new*-CTR *or* REL *old*
Which one SHOULD I take: the new one or the old one?

-Di can be used to mark both possible choices, as in example (199), or just one of the two, as in (200). This meaning of -di is perhaps best translated as a subjunctive, such as *would* and *should* in the translations above.

7.34 Benefactive -ki (column 9)

The postverbal clitic -ki (BEN) is labelled 'benefactive' since its primary function is to encode benefactives; but it sometimes encodes oblique case roles other than benefactive. In the Kaili language there is a particle ka used to mark benefactives; in Uma the base form has become -ki due to a coalescence with the 3s pronoun. Furthermore the -ki of Uma is much more firmly attached to the verb than is the ka of Kaili, which at times acts like a preposition.[26] Note that the -ki paradigm (Chart 6) is not quite like that of -mi, -pi or -di in that the 1s and 3s pronouns have coalesced with -ki to form a single syllable. The clitic -ki is in ALL CAPS in the following examples.

(201) Hiapa buku to nu-wai'-ra-KA?
where book REL *you*(GF)-*give-them*-BEN
Where is the book that you gave TO THEM?

(202) Na-'uli' tina-na m-po-'uli'-KI ...
he(GF)-*say mother-his* AF-TR-*say*-BEN.3s
His mother said TO HIM ...

The clitic -ki is most frequently used to mark simple benefactives, such as recipients of gifts (example (201)) or the addressee of speech acts (example (202)). -Ki is also used with verbs of motion or locational relationship. This might be loosely called 'concomitant'.

(203) Hilou japi m-po-hirua'-KI kebe'.
go cow AF-TR-*meet*-BEN.3s *goat*
The cow went to meet WITH the goat.

(204) Na-po-gaa'-mi-ra-KA.
he(GF)-TD-*separate*-PFT-*them*-BEN
He departed FROM them.

(205) Hilou-i hi to Yahudi to mo-si-galo-ra-KA to Yunani.
go-he to people Jew REL INT-RECIP-*mix-them*-BEN *people Greek*
He is going to the Jews that are mixed in WITH the Greeks.

Whether one is moving toward someone to meet with them, as in example (203), or moving away to depart from them, as in (204), or in a motionless state mixed in with them, as in (205), -ki is used to mark the locational relationship.

The benefactive clitic -ki is also used with 'outer benefactives', that is, to mark the participant for the benefit (or detriment) of whom a certain event has happened. In the sentence 'Please give the book to John for me', 'to John' is the inner benefactive, and 'for me' is the outer benefactive.

(206) Mo-ronto wo'o-mi-KI sapatu'-na.
INT-*lost also*-PFT-BEN.3s *shoe-his*
His shoes got lost.

(207) Ra-'ala'-ma-KA pue'-ku.
they(GF)-*take*-PFT-BEN.1s *master-my*
They have taken my master away.

The force of the -ki is not always translatable into English. In example (206), the shoes were lost TO HIM, or in more colloquial English, got lost ON HIM. Likewise in (207), the -ka (-ki coalesced with the clitic pronoun -a *me*) expressed the personal effect of the action on the speaker. It does not mean *they took him from me* but rather *they took him away on me/to my detriment.*

In some cases when a clause focuses on some nominal that is in an oblique class relation to the verb, -ki is used.

(208) Na-wute' piho'-na na-time-KI hadua batua.
he(GF)-*draw sword-his he*(GF)-*cut*-BEN.3s *one slave*
He drew his sword and cut a slave WITH IT.

(209) Ngkai hawe'ea pobago-ku tohe'e, to'uma to doko' ni-patehi-KA?
from all deed-my that which REL *want you*(GF)-*kill*-BEN.1s
Of all my deeds, which do you want to kill BECAUSE OF?

In example (208) the sword mentioned in the first clause becomes the focus of the second clause. Since it is the instrument of the verb time *to cut*, the benefactive -ki marks the oblique case relation: *cut WITH IT*. In (209), some deed of the speaker is the cause or basis of others wanting to kill him. The -ki (or in this case the 1s form -ka) has the force of *which do you want to kill me FOR/BECAUSE OF?*

7.35 In addition to the four primary aspectual clitics covered so far (perfective -mi, continuative -pi, contrastive -di and benefactive -ki), there are also three postverbal clitics that occur in the same position within the affix order (columns 7 and 8). These are pidi *still*, wadi *just* and damo *thus*. These three cannot co-occur with perfective -mi, continuative -pi or contrastive -di.[27] It is possible that these three two-syllable clitics are historically derived from combinations of two one-syllable clitics (pidi from -pi and -di, wadi from -wa and -di; and damo from -di and -mi).

7.35.1 The first of these two-syllable clitics, pidi, has the primary meaning of *still*, that is, an event or state that continues UP TO THE PRESENT. This contrasts slightly with the simple continuative -pi which describes an event or state continuing ON PAST THE PRESENT (see example (184)).

The development of pidi from two separate particles is evident from a comparison of Da'a (Kaili) and various Uma dialects.

(210)a. Da'a: DA na-ria-PA
durative realis-*is*-CONT

b. Tobaku (Uma): ria DAPA
is still

c. Winatu (Uma): ria DIPI
is still

d. Kantewu (Uma): ria PIDI
is still

There is still some.

Ignoring the na- realis prefix of the Da'a, these four variants all contain the same morphemes in different arrangements. In Da'a, the particle da is preverbal and pa is postverbal. In Uma these two particles are both postverbal and have joined together to form one two-syllable clitic. Even in the Kantewu dialect, the vowels are not stable, for in the speech of some people, pidi becomes pada contiguous to certain clitic pronouns (before the three k-initial pronouns, and sometimes also after the 1s, 1p, and 3p). For example:

(211) Mo-lolita PADA kai.
INT-*talk still we*
We are still talking.

7.35.2 The next two-syllable clitic, wadi means *just, only*. In the speech of some people it has the allomorph wada in the same environment noted for the pidi/pada variation above. Examples (212) and (213) illustrate both allomorphs of wadi.

(212) Tumai nculi'-a WADI mo-'ahu.
come return-I just INT-*hunt*
I was just coming to hunt and was going right back.

(213) Ane hewa tetu WADA-koi, uma-koi hangkuja-na.
if like that just-you not-you how.many-its
If you are only like that, there aren't very many of you.

7.35.3 The third two-syllable clitic, damo, has several loosely related functions. First, it is used in statements calling for agreement, making an offer, or suggesting a course of action.

(214) Aku' DAMO to m-po-toki.
I just REL AF-TR-*chop*
I'll chop it./Let me chop it.

(215) Ta-dapa'-ra DAMO hi papada.
we(GF)-*chase-them just in field*
We'll chase them in the fields.

In example (214) the speaker is offering to do the chopping; hence the damo has the force of *JUST LET me do it.* In (215) the speaker is making a suggestion; the damo has the force of *HOW ABOUT IF we chase them in the fields.*

When damo is used with predicates consisting of nouns or numbers, the meaning is *only thus-and-so is left.*

(216) Ono lapi-mi, ha-lapi DAMO.
*six layer-*PFT *one-layer just*
Six layers already (had collapsed), JUST one layer (WAS LEFT).

(217) Ra-rata rawo ngata-ra, lunu-na DAMO.
they(GF)-*find* CM.3s *village-their powder-its just*
(When) they found their village, ONLY ashes (WERE LEFT).

A third use of damo is to express a mild exclamation.

(218) Mo-honga DAMO wunga toe!
INT-*smell just flower that*
MY HOW those flowers smelled!

(219) Taha'-mi pae, mperenene DAMO ra-hilo.
*ripe-*PFT *rice golden just* 3p(GF)-*see*
The rice was ripe, it looked JUST golden.

The nearest English translation for damo in such cases is the vague *just* as in example (219), or the poetic *My how ...* as in (218).

A fourth meaning of damo is found in dependent clauses (such as conditionals or temporals), where it can be translated *thus.*

(220) Ng-koni'-ko ulu. Oti ng-koni' DAMO-ko mpai', pai' hilou.
AF-*eat-you first finish* AF-*eat thus-you later and go*
Eat first. After you have THUS eaten, then (you can) go.

(221) Ane te-'unca DAMO, ria-a-ma hi rala-na.
if NV-*close thus is-I-*PFT *at inside-its*
If (the entrance) is THUS closed, I am there on the inside.

This use of damo signals old or shared information. For instance, the meaning in example (220) is *[I have just offered to feed you, so] after you have THUS eaten ....* Similarly, example (221) can be expanded, *If the cave entrance is THUS closed [as I suggested earlier it might be] ....*

7.36 -wa

One last clitic is found in columns 7-8 on Chart 4, the clitic -wa. Little is known about this clitic since it occurs infrequently. When it does occur, it is usually used with negated predicates or in yes/no questions.

(222) Ane ra-hilo uma-WA ria kabali' pobunca-ra, ra-tepu'u-mi
if they(GF)-*see not*-* *is change planting-their they*(GF)-*begin*-PFT
n-tahi
AF-*slash*
If they see that there has not been any change AFTER ALL/AT ALL in the position of where they planted (the magic omen), they begin to slash (the new field).

(223) Ha ncola-i-WA sulao'-e?
yes/no *handsome-he-** *sulao'*-tag
Is the Sulao' bird handsome BY THE WAY?/Is the Sulao' bird AT ALL handsome?

In example (222) the -wa is described by Uma speakers as having a comforting effect. The farmers were apprehensive that there might be some change in the magic omen, but there wasn't any change AFTER ALL. The function of the -wa in (223) is not clear; perhaps it is to make the question sound innocent or less threatening: *Does this Sulao' bird HAPPEN to be handsome, BY THE WAY?*

7.37 Emotive clitics (column 11)

After the aspectual clitics and clitic pronouns comes another type of clitic in the Uma verb phrase, called the emotive clitics. There are two commonly-occurring clitics in this slot, hawo and hana; and there are two that occur only rarely, tano and tawo.[28] The first two are noteworthy in that they are conjugated to agree with the person and number of some participant in the clause. Their conjugation is given on Chart 7.

Chart 7: Conjugation of hawo and hana

	Commiserative HAWO	Assertive HANA
1s	kuwo	kuna
2s	kowo	kona
3s	hawo	hana
1p	kaiwo*	kaina*
2p	koiwo*	koina*
3p	rawo	rana
1+2	tawo	tana

*The forms kaiwo and koiwo are kamiwo and komiwo in the Tolee dialect, and presumably in the Winatu dialect as well. The forms kaina and koina are presumably kamina and komina in these dialects, but no data is yet available to confirm this.

7.37.1 Hana

The two clitics hawo and hana are complementary in meaning. The first tends to soften a statement, the second tends to make a statement harsh or bold. I have labelled these two clitics 'assertive' hana (AS), and 'commiserative' hawo (CM). We will examine assertive hana first.

(224) Bohe HANA papada toi.
big AS.3s *field this*
This field is big!

(225) Wulehu' me-'eka'-mi, tete' HANA goe' moto.
mouse INT-*afraid*-PFT *frog* AS.3s *glad indeed*
The mouse became afraid, (but) the frog was glad.

(226) Aku' le, eo mingku' ba eo ntani'-na, hibalia wadi KUNA!
I tag *day Sunday or day other-its same just* AS.1s
As for me, Sunday and other days are just the same!

Example (224) shows hana used to change a simple declarative clause into an assertion. English uses exaggerated intonation and stress to convey this same meaning: *This field is big!* In (225) the assertive hana is used to emphatically shift the focus of the story from one participant (the mouse) to another (the frog). English uses a contrastive conjunction and stress for this: *BUT the frog, HOWEVER* .... Example (226) is another example of an assertion, this time with the 1s form kuna; it serves to heighten the frankness of the statement.

7.37.2 Hawo

The commiserative clitic hawo is often described by native speakers as softening or refining a statement. It is called 'commiserative' because it frequently is used to mark out a person as a 'poor fellow', that is, someone in a lowly, pitiable state.

(227) Mama, Ina', bo ni-po-ka-huku'-a, uma-a KUWO rei.
daddy mwmmy since you(GF)-TD-AFF-*hate-me not-I* CM.1s *here*
Daddy, mwmmy, since you hate me, I (POOR ME) will not stay here.

(228) Uma KUWO ku-'inca-i ka ria-na koi' pue'-na.
not CM.1s *I*(GF)-*know*-LOC *that is*-3s *you owner-its*
(PLEASE), I didn't know that you, the owners, were here.

(229) Mai-ko KOWO mo-hura hi parawa.
come-you CM.2s INT-*sit on porch*
Come here (POOR YOU) and sit on the porch.

(230) Tumai me-nunu'-wada ka-KAIWO ngone.
come INT-*tree.bark-just we*-CM.1p *earlier*
We just came here to gather tree bark (POOR US).

Uma speakers often describe the 1s and 1p forms kuwo and kaiwo as showing humility or politeness. These forms are often loosely translatable as *please*, as in example (228) above, or *poor me/us/you*, as in examples (227), (229) and (230). The kuwo in (227) indicates that the speaker is not angry or trying to be impolite, but is making her declaration with all humility. In (229), the 2s form kowo indicates that the speaker is making a polite offer, not a command; he feels sorry for the person.

Hawo has a special function when used in conjunction with the adverb wo'o *again, also*.

(231)a. Ra-hilo wo'o-mi betue' toe.
they(GF)-*see again*-PFT *star that*
They saw the star again (WO'O).

b. Ra-hilo wo'o-mi RAWO betue' toe.
they(GF)-*see also*-PFT CM.3p *star that*
They also (WO'O HAWO) *saw the star.*

(232) Mo-bengi-mi, turu-mi hawe'ea tauna, turu wo'o-ra-mo RAWO to
INT-*dark*-PFT *sleep*-PFT *all people sleep also-they*-PFT CM.3p REL

ncamoko toe-ra.
couple that-they
When it was dark, all the people lay down, (and) this couple lay down ALSO (WO'O HAWO).

Examples (231a) and (231b) are identical except that part (b) contains the 3p form rawo. In (231a) the adverb wo'o indicates a repeated event, *to see it AGAIN*. In (231b), however, the addition of rawo, 3p of hawo, changes the meaning of the adverb to added participant, *they ALSO (in addition to someone else) saw it*. Similarly in (232) the rawo indicates that the adverb is not to be interpreted as *they lay down again* but as *they ALSO (in addition to someone else) lay down.*

The clitic hawo has some special uses in narrative discourse, two of which are exemplified below.

(233) RA-hilo RAWO hi rala kura, ponu' onti' ngkata.
they(GF)-*see* CM.3p *at in pot full ant itchy*
They saw (RAWO) *that the inside of the cooking pot was full of itchy-ants.*

(234) Apa' ria HAWO pongko-ra, koni' pai' bau' na-tu'u lolo pongko.
since is CM.3s *tower-their rice and meat he*(GF)*-put top tower*
Because they had a watchtower (HAWO), *he put the rice and meat up in the watchtower.*

Example (233) exemplifies what I call hawo used to highlight a 'twist in the plot'. Often when a main participant in the narrative is confronted with something new or unexpected - such as the folks in this example finding their pot full of itchy-ants - hawo is used to highlight this event. The expression in (233) ra-hilo RAWO can be translated *What should they see but ...* or *They saw* (double take!) ....

Example (234) exemplifies hawo used to make a side-comment, to slip a new bit of new information into a narrative. In the middle of the story, the storyteller makes the explanatory statement ria HAWO pongkora *they had (BY THE WAY) a watchtower* in their rice paddy. The hawo is here used to 'soften' the statement, as if the author were saying 'Pardon me for slipping this in here, but you need to know it'.

7.37.3 Tano and tawo

The two other emotive clitics, tano and tawo, do not occur as frequently as assertive hana and commiserative hawo. Unlike hana and hawo, tano and tawo are not conjugated. I label these two clitics 'speculative' tano (SPEC) and 'insight' tawo (INS). Both clitics have glottalised variants, tano' and tawo', in the speech of some Umas. Here are some example sentences using these two clitics.

(235) Aa, na-koni' mpu'u TANO doo-ku-e.
oh he(GF)*-eat really* SPEC *friend-my*-tag
Oh, perhaps he really did eat my friend!

(236) Tukang kayu-i TAWO tuama-nu.
carpenter-he INS *father-your*
Why, your father must be a carpenter!

Both tano and tawo are used in circumstances where the speaker suddenly becomes aware of something. Tawo shows a flash of insight, as example (236) illustrates. Upon seeing his friend's father planing a board, the speaker deduces, *Why, your father must be a carpenter!* Tano also is used in cases of sudden awareness, but when the speaker uses tano, it means he is still a bit uncertain. In example (235) the speaker (a tiger) did not at first believe that the goat had really eaten his fellow-tiger. But when he saw blood on the goat's beard, he began to wonder, perhaps the goat had indeed eaten him.

7.38 Tag clitics (column 12)

The final set of enclitics are the tag clitics. They are called 'tag' clitics because some of their functions are similar to tag questions. Martha Martens (1986) calls them conversational particles. These tag clitics are difficult to describe, because their presence merely gives an intranslatable nuance to a sentence. They are used extensively in spoken Uma, but native authors delete most of them when writing Uma. Chart 8 and the examples below attempt to summarise the findings of Martha Martens' 1986 study on the tag clitics of Uma.

Chart 8: Tag clitics of Uma

TAG	LABEL	APPROXIMATE TRANSLATION
e	resumptive	..., *you know.*
le	mild emphatic/ agreement	...! *All right, ...*
e'	attentive	..., *you hear!?*
pe'	assistive	*Please help ..., will you?*
le'	deliberative	*Well now, .../ Hmm, I wonder ...*

7.38.1 The tag le

Of the five tag clitics, the first two in the list, -e and le are the most frequently used in spoken Uma.[29] Le is mildly emphatic or calls for agreement.

(237) Hi'a-mi LE to ku-'uli'-e wengi.
he-PFT tag *that I*(GF)-*say*-tag *yesterday*
He's the one (LE) *that I mentioned yesterday!*

(238)a. Doko' hilou-a kuwo Ina'.
want go-I CM.1s *mwmmy*
I want to go, Mwmmy.

b. Hilou-mo-ko LE.
go-PFT-*you* tag
All right then, go (LE).

In example (237), le is used as a mild emphatic. In example (238), it indicates that the speaker (the mother) is agreeing with her child's request.

7.38.2 The tag -e

The clitic -e is used with aforementioned or assumed information, with nouns as well as verbs.

(239) Ntaa' ka leta'-na mpu'u-di hana ibo'-E.
in.fact DP *sleep-his really*-CTR AS.3s *monkey*-tag
In fact the monkey really was asleep.

Example (239) is a good illustration of -e. -E is usually linked with the topic of the sentence. It marks the topic of the sentence, *the monkey*, almost as an afterthought: *In fact he really was asleep after all - the monkey, THAT IS.*

It is possible that -e developed as a shorthand form of the demonstrative toe *that*, which is often used with aforementioned noun phrases. But whatever the origin, -e and le are often used in the same sentence, the -le marking the predicate or new information (the first part of the sentence), and the -e marking the topic or old information (the second half of the sentence). For example, example (237) above: *He's the one* (LE) *that I mentioned earlier* (-E)*!* The symbol // in the examples below divides the le and -e halves of the sentence.

(240) Ria pidi hana LE // toro ompi'-ku-E.
is still AS.3s tag *remnant relative-my*-tag
There still exists (LE) *a remnant of my relatives* (-E).

(241) Mate mpu'u-ko LE // ane ku-time-ko-E.
die really-you tag *if I*(GF)*-cut-you*-tag
You will really die (LE) *if I cut you* (-E) *(as you suggested earlier).*

7.38.3 The tag -e'

The remaining tag clitics, -e', le' and pe', occur less frequently than do -e and le. The tag clitic -e' is called 'attentive' because its function is to get the listener's attention.

(242) Neo' mpu'u-E' nu-'ala' taipa-ku!
don't really-tag *you*(GF)*-take mango-my*
Don't you dare take my mangoes!

(243) Uma-a-E' leta', bale!
not-I-tag *sleep friend*
I did not either fall asleep, friend!

(244) Hilou-ma-kai-E'!
go-PFT-*we*-tag
Say, we're going now!

-E' is often used with negative commands, to which it adds a sense of sharpness. The construction neo' ... -e' in (242) can be translated as *Hey! don't!* or *Don't do that, you hear!?* -E' can also be used to call attention to an utterance; it can be as mild as the friendly attention-getting -e' of (244) (*SAY, we're going now!*), or it can be rather harsh, as in (243) (*I did not either sleep, YOU HEAR!?*).

7.38.4 The tag pe'

Pe' is usually used with positive imperatives. It is usually used among equals; Umas describe it as making an imperative more 'friendly', and they usually translate it with the Indonesian word coba, which literally means *try* but in imperatives is used as a sort of *please*. The phrase keni pe' in (245) below is translatable as *Try and carry* or *Help me carry* or perhaps by the more colloquial English translation given below.

(245) Keni PE' tumai ba hangkuja ma'a uru!
carry tag *here several animal fish*
(Say, give me a hand and) carry a few fish over here!

7.38.5 The tag le'

The final tag clitic, le', is used only when one is talking out loud to oneself, questioning or wondering about something. The le' follows the question word and is balanced by an -e at the end of the sentence:

(246) Hiapa LE' ku-tu'u-e we'i?
where tag *I*(GF)*-put*-tag *earlier*
HMM, where, I WONDER, did I put [that thing] earlier?

7.4 Temporal adverbs (column 13 of Chart 4)

A certain class of temporal adverbs occurs as the final element in the Uma verb phrase. This class includes mpai' *later*, mpeno *in the future*, we'i *earlier (within a few hours)*, ngone *earlier (over a few hours but less than a day ago)*, and ulu *first*.[30] Unlike the postverbal clitics (columns 6-12 of Chart 4), these temporal adverbs are self-standing words with penultimate accents. But like the clitics, they follow the verb they modify without any pause. They also obey the clitic-raising rule (see section 7.5). Of the many temporal words in Uma, only the five listed above occur in this temporal adverb slot. Other words, such as mepulo *morning, tomorrow*, wengi *yesterday*, owi *long ago*, etc., are attached more loosely in the sentence margin rather than in a fixed position within the verb phrase.

(247) Tumai mpai' bale-ku.
come later friend-my
My friend is coming later.

(248) Mepulo mpai', tumai bale-ku.
morning later come friend-my
Tomorrow, my friend is coming.

(249) Tumai mpai' bale-ku, mepulo.
come later friend-my morning
My friend is coming later, tomorrow.

Example (247) shows the temporal adverb mpai' in its postverbal position within the verb phrase. In contrast, a word like mepulo *morning, tomorrow* in examples (248) and (249) can occur either at the beginning or end of the sentence, separated from the rest of the sentence by a pause. (Mepulo itself is modified by mpai' in (248), a common clarification used in Uma, since mepulo by itself can mean *(earlier) this morning* or *(tomorrow) morning*.)

7.5 Negation (column 2 of Chart 4)

There are four negative words in Uma: uma *no*, ko'ia *not yet*,[31] bela *not* (negates nouns), and neo' *don't* (prohibition). Each is illustrated below in a simple sentence.

(250) UMA ku-hilo-i.
not I(GF)-*see*-LOC
I do not see (it).

(251) KO'IA rata bale-ku.
not.yet arrive friend-my
My friend has not yet arrived.

(252) BELA kebe' tetu.
not goat that
That is not a goat.

(253) NEO' geo'!
don't cry
Don't cry!

Chart 4 shows negation in column 2 of the verb phrase formula. But negation is more than just another unit in the string of units that make up the verb phrase. The presence of a negative causes some reordering of other units. This is called the CLITIC-RAISING RULE. When a negative word is used in a verb phrase, clitics that normally are attached to the verb stem are shunted forward and attached to the negative.[32] This affects all postverbal clitics: clitic pronouns (columns 6 and 10), aspectual clitics (columns 7-9), emotive clitics (column 11) and tag clitics (column 12); and it also affects temporal adverbs (column 13). Note the clitic pronoun -a *I/me* in the two examples below.

(254) Uma-A leta'.
not-I sleep
I am not sleeping.

(255) Uma-A ni-po-doo.
not-me you(GF)-TD-*companion*
You don't accompany me.

Note in (254) that the 1s clitic pronoun -a *I/me* does not follow the verb but follows the negative uma. This clitic-raising rule applies to clitic pronouns whether they are the subject of an intransitive verb, as in example (254), or goal of a transitive verb, as in (255). One could say the clitic-raising rule is an ergative rule since only the absolutive pronoun is affected; or that it is a focus-sensitive rule since it is the topic pronoun that is affected.

This same process that shunts forward the clitic pronouns in (254) and (255) also affects other clitics and temporal adverbs as well. Note the morphemes in ALL CAPS in the following three examples.

(256) Uma-PI MPAI' ta-'inca-i.
not-CONT *later we*(GF)-*know*-LOC
We won't know any longer.

(257) Neo'-A ULU nu-koni'.
don't-me first you(GF)-*eat*
Don't eat me right away!

(258) Ko'ia-A KUNA ni-tompoi'.
not.yet-me AS.1s *you*(GF)-*answer*
You haven't answered me yet.

In examples (256)-(258), clitics and adverbs that normally follow the verb are following the negative instead: -pi and mpai' in (256), -a and ulu in (257), and -a and kuna in (258).

It should be noted that postverbal adverbs (column 5 of Chart 4) are NOT affected by the clitic-raising rule. They do not move up to postnegative position. But negatives, being predicates of a sort, can be modified by postverbal adverbs in their own right. Notice the placement of the postverbal adverb mpu'u *really* in the following two examples.

(259) Uma-a na-hilo-i MPU'U
not-me he(GF)-*see*-LOC *really*
He didn't REALLY see me (- he only got a glimpse).

(260) Uma MPU'U-a na-hilo-i.
not really-me he(GF)-*see*-LOC
He didn't see me AT ALL.

Thus the postverbal adverb mpu'u *really* can modify the main verb as in example (259), *really see*, or can modify the negative as in (260), *not really*, with a definite difference in meaning.

7.6 Auxiliary verbs (column 3 of Chart 4)

Negatives are one specialised case of the class of auxiliary verbs that accompany and modify other verbs in Uma. Concepts such as *want to, have to, be able to*, etc. are handled in Uma by auxiliary verbs. In the linear sequence of the verb phrase, auxiliaries always come after the negative (if any) and before the main verb. There are two classes of auxiliary verbs: intransitive and transitive.

7.61 Intransitive auxiliary verbs are auxiliaries that mark their subject with a clitic pronoun (as do all intransitive verbs in Uma). They are dota *want to*, doko' *want to/desire*, ma'ala *can/may*, bisa *can*, and kana *have to/must*.[33] When the main verb which they modify is intransitive also, or is A-foc transitive, the subject of the auxiliary and the main verb is the same, and the clitic pronoun may be attached to either:

(261)a. DOKO' hilou-i.
want go-he
He wants to go.

b. DOKO'-i hilou.
want-he go
He wants to go.

Example (261a) and (261b) both use the intransitive auxiliary doko' *want to* and are identical in form except for the placement of the clitic pronoun -i *he*. There is a slight difference in meaning. (261a) signifies that GOING is the new information or is being emphasised: *[He doesn't want to sit around any more,] he wants to GO.* In contrast, (261b) treats going as old information and emphasises the WANTING: *[You may not want him to go, but] he WANTS to go.*

(262) MA'ALA kai m-po-rata pongkoni'.
can we AF-TR-*find food*
We can find food.

(263) DOTA-i pidi m-po-koni'-ta.
want-he still AF-TR-*eat-us*
He still wants to eat us.

Examples (262) and (263) show intransitive auxiliaries, ma'ala *can/may* and dota *want to*, with A-foc transitive verbs. In both cases, the subject is marked by a clitic pronoun on the auxiliary. (Note that an auxiliary can be modified by aspectual clitics, such as the pidi *still* in (263).) It is possible for the subject of the verb phrase to be marked by a clitic after the A-foc main verb if the object is either deleted or is expressed by a noun phrase.

(264) Doko' m-po-koni' bau' japi-a.
want AF-TR-*eat meat cow-I*
I want to eat beef.

Example (264) is an object-incorporation construction (see section 3.5). The auxiliary doko' *want to* modifies the A-foc verb mpokoni' *eat*. The object of mpokoni' is a non-definite noun phrase. The subject is marked by the clitic -a *I* at the very end. As with (26la), this construction presents the object as new or emphasised information: *I want to eat BEEF (not vegetables).*

When intransitive auxiliaries modify G-foc transitive verbs, the situation is a bit more complex. G-foc verbs are obligatorily marked for actor with a non-topic pronoun prefix. So if the G-foc verb and the auxiliary have the same subject, the auxiliary is not marked for subject. If the two verbs have different subjects - that is, if the subject of the auxiliary is the object of the main G-foc verb - then the auxiliary will be marked for its subject. Some examples will make this clearer.

(265) DOKO' na-koni'-a kuna harimau toe-i ria.
want he(GF)*-eat-me* AS.ls *tiger that-he there*
That tiger over there wants to eat me!

(266) DOKO'-a nu-patehi.
want-I you(GF)*-kill*
I want you to kill me.

Both examples (265) and (266) use the auxiliary verb doko' *want to*. In example (265) the same participant (the tiger) is the subject of both the WANTING and the EATING, and this subject is encoded with the na- *he* on the G-foc verb. In example (266), the subject of the wanting is the object of the killing. So the -a *I/me* clitic must appear on the auxiliary doko' *want to* and is deleted after the main verb nu-patehi(-a) *you kill (me).*

When a negative occurs with an auxiliary verb, the clitic-raising rule causes the clitics that would have been attached to the auxiliary to move up to the negative. Notice in the following examples all begin with NEGATIVE - CLITIC(S) AUXILIARY VERB.

(267) UMA-I MA'ALA m-po-naa doo.
not-she may AF-TR-*stare companion*
She is not permitted to stare at her companions.

(268) UMA-A-PA MA'ALA nu-tagi.
not-I-CONT *may you*(GF)*-restrain*
You cannot restrain me any longer/I can no longer be restrained by you.

(269) UMA-A DOTA m-po-bahaka-ko.
not-I want AF-TR-*release-you*
I don't want to release you.

(270) UMA-KO DOTA me-tibo'.
not-you want INT-*flee*
You don't want to flee.

In examples (267)-(270) the clitic pronoun that marks the subject of the sentence is attached to the negative uma, not to the auxiliary (ma'ala in (267)-(268), dota in (269)-(270)).

7.62 Transitive auxiliary verbs are ones in which the subject of the auxiliary is usually marked by a non-topic pronoun prefix. While these verbs can be A-foc (and thus take the prefix cluster m-po-) they are almost always G-foc and almost

always used with negatives. The three most common transitive auxiliaries are kule' *to be capable of*, dadahi *to be able to endure*, and pokono *to like, prefer*. The reason that these auxiliaries are typically G-foc is that they focus on the activity of the main verb. (Notice in examples (271) and (272) below that when pokono and kule' are negated, they obligatorily take the locative -i suffix, as explained in section 5.15.)

(271) Uma ku-PO-KONO-i ng-koni' kowo' to bangi.
not I(GF)-TD-*like*-LOC AF-*eat* *grass* REL *dry*
I don't LIKE eating grass that is dry.

(272) Uma ki-KULE-i' m-po-bayari.
not we(GF)-*able*-LOC AF-TR-*pay*
We are not ABLE to pay it.

(273) Uma-pi na-DADAHI ra-kiri.
not-CONT *he*(GF)-*endure* 3p(GF)-*tickle*
He was no longer ABLE TO ENDURE being tickled. OR
He was no longer ABLE TO ENDURE their tickling him.

If the subject of the main verb is the same as that of the auxiliary, as is usually the case, the main verb is A-foc and thus unmarked for subject ((271) and (272)). If the subject of the main verb should be different from that of the auxiliary, then the main verb is G-foc and marked for its subject with a non-topic actor pronoun. This is the case in example (273), where the subject of the auxiliary is na- *he*, and the subject of the main verb is the passive-like ra- *they*.

8.0 DEPENDENT VERB FORMS

A discussion of Uma verbs is not complete without mentioning the principle dependent verb form ka-...- *possessive pronoun*. By dependent verbs, I do not mean nominalisations,[34] but forms corresponding to dependent clauses or what might be called participles or gerunds in Indo-European terminology.

In form, the dependent verb form mentioned above consists of the proclitic ka- (glossed DP for 'dependent verb marker') preceding the verb word and a possessive pronoun immediately following the verb stem. This possessive pronoun replaces and agrees in person and number with whatever clitic pronoun would normally occur in the postverb stem position (see Chart 1 for a list of pronoun forms).

There is also an alternative form of the dependent verb, po-... *possessive pronoun*, used with intransitive verbs beginning with mo- (or me- or ma-). In this construction, an intransitive verb is made dependent by having its intransitive prefix mo- (or me- or ma-) replaced by po- (or pe- or pa-, all glossed as DP), and the clitic pronoun after the verb replaced with a possessive pronoun. This po-...- *possessive pronoun* construction may be thought of as an alternative form of ka-... *possessive pronoun* used specifically with mo-, me- and ma- initial verbs. In the following examples the ka- or po-/pe-/pa- dependent marker and the possessive pronoun will be capitalised. The four examples below show a normal verb in part (a) and its dependent counterpart in part (b).

(274)a. goe'-i-mi
cry-he-PFT
He cried.

b. KA-geo'-NA-mi
DP-*cry-his*-PFT
He having cried/his crying

(275)a. ra-hilo
they(GF)-*see*
They saw (it).

b. KA-ra-hilo-NA
DP-*they*(GF)-*see*-3s
They having seen (it).

(276)a. mo-keno-ma-kai
INT-*run*-PFT-*we*
We ran.

b. PO-keno-KAI-mi
DP-*run-we*-PFT
Our having run/our running

(277)a. ma-lai-ra-mo
INT-*leave-they*-PFT
They left.

b. PA-lai-RA-mi
DP-*leave-their*-PFT
Their having left/upon their departure ...

In the first two examples above the normal finite verb forms are in part (a), and their corresponding ka-...*possessive pronoun* form in part (b). Note that the clitic pronoun -i *he* in (274a) has been replaced with the possessive -na *his* in (274b). Note in (274b) that the 3s possessive -na does not correspond to any referent in the clause. The 3s -na is used merely to fulfil the grammatical requirement of having a possessive pronoun on the stem form without referring to any specific participant.

In the next two examples above, the normal intransitive verbs with mo- and ma- prefixes appears in part (a), and their corresponding po-...*possessive pronoun* forms in part (b). Although the clitic pronouns in these examples, -ra *they* and -kai *we*, are identical in form to their corresponding possessive forms (also -ra and -kai, see Chart 1), nevertheless it is obvious that it is the possessive pronoun that is used in the dependent verb forms and not the clitic pronoun. Note that the -kai in example (276b) occurs before rather than after the perfective -mi ((276a): -ma-kai and (276b): -kai-mi), and note that the -ra in example (277b) does not cause the following perfective -mi to become -mo, as is obligatory with the clitic pronoun -ra ((277a): -ra-mo and (277b): -ra-mi) (see section 7.3 and Chart 6).

8.1 Dependent verb forms have several uses in Uma sentence and discourse structure. Dependent forms with ka- are used as complements of verbs of knowing, seeing, deciding, saying, etc.

(278) Ku-'inca-mi KA-nu-pakawa'-KU.
I(GF)-*know*-PFT DP-*you*(GF)-*trick-my*
I know that you tricked me! OR
I know about your tricking of me. OR
I know about my being tricked by you.

(279) Ra-'epe ompi'-na KA-na-doa-NA hana pekamaro
they(GF)-*hear relative-her* DP-*she*(GF)-*accept*-3s AS.3s *engagement.gift*
kebe'.
goat
Her relatives heard that she had accepted the engagement gift from the goat.

(280) Ana'-ra to kahudu to me-liu KA-ra-po-ka-'ahi'-NA.
child-their REL *last* REL INT-*pass* DP-*they*(GF)-TD-AFF-*love*-3s
Their youngest child was the one they loved the most. (lit. *the one surpassing in his being loved by them*)

In example (278) the dependent verb form KA-nu-pakawa'-KU *my being tricked by you* is the complement of the verb *to know*. Note the various English translations suggested above to represent this Uma syntactic structure. In example (279) the dependent verb KA-na-doa-NA *her having accepted [it]* is the complement of *to hear*. The 3s possessive -na on the verb could refer to pekamaro *engagement gift*, but more likely it merely fulfils the grammatical function of making a dependent verb and does not refer to any participant. In example (280) the verb me-liu *to pass, surpass* is used to form a superlative, with a ka-...-*possessive pronoun* verb form as its complement: *surpassing in his being loved by them.*

8.2 Because ka-...*possessive pronoun* verb forms are used as complements of verbs of speech, they are often used with reported speech.

(281) Ria tompoi'-ra, ra-'uli' KA-hi rala wana'-RA.
is answer-their they(GF)-*say* DP-*at in forest-their*
There was a reply, saying that they were in the forest. (lit. *they said their [being] in the forest*)

(282) Na-lolita-mi KA-ra-ka-bosi-i'-NA wulehu'-ra, KA-'uma-NA
he(GF)-*told*-PFT DP-*they*(GF)-AFF-*stingy*-LOC-3s *mouse-their* DP-*not*-3s
ra-wai'-i no'o.
they(GF)-*give-him machete*
He told about their being stingy toward him with their mice, (and about) their not giving him a machete ...

(283) Ra-lolita-mi rawo KA-ra-palahii-RA totu'a-ra,
they(GF)-*tell*-PFT CM.3p DP-*they*(GF)-*forsake-their parents-their*
PO-mako'-RA m-po-rua' hipa'.
DP-*walk-their* AF-TR-*find snail*
They told of their being forsaken by their parents, (and) their walking along to find a snail.

In each of the above three examples, one or more dependent verb forms follow a verb of speech, showing that what follows is indirect or reported speech. The ka-...-*possessive pronoun* construction affects not only verbs, but any predicate,

even if it is a prepositional phrase, as in (281): *(that they were) in the forest.* When a negative predicate is made dependent, it is the negative that undergoes the ka-...*possessive pronoun* construction, as the second dependent verb in example (282) illustrates, KA-uma-NA ra-wai'-i no'o, literally, *it's not they give him a machete* or *that they didn't give him a machete.* As example (283) shows, the po-...*possessive pronoun* construction can also be used in indirect speech.

8.3 Dependent verb forms are also used with various conjunctions and prepositions.

(284) Api' KA-'uma-NA na-hilo-i-di, apa' wero-i!
in.fact DP-*not*-3s *he*(GF)-*see*-LOC-CTR *for blind-he*
(He said that it was dark,) but in fact (it was) that he could not see, for he was blind!

(285) Beiwa-mi kona KA-hi laintongo'-NU-e?
how-PFT AS.2s DP-*in middle-your*-tag
Just how (is it) that you will be in the middle? (lit. *how your (being) in the middle*)

In example (284) the conjunction api' *but in fact* is followed by a dependent verb form. It can be translated into English as a 'that' clause: *in fact [it was] that he did not see.* Or it can be translated as a gerund: *in fact it was his not seeing.* In (285) the question word beiwa *how* is followed by a dependent verb form - although again note that the 'verb' in question is actually a prepositional phrase that fills the predicate slot: *How is it that you will be in the middle?* or *How will your being in the middle (come to be)?*

8.4 Dependent verbs also function within a sentence as a dependent clause, showing time or circumstance.

(286) KA-ra-bini'-NA tohe'e, ra-hilo rawo nunu' ntina' me-wali
DP-*they*(GF)-*open*-3s *that they*(GF)-*see* CM.3p *banyan main* INT-*become*
tomi.
house
When they opened their eyes/Upon their opening their eyes, they saw that the big banyan tree had become a house.

(287) Na-'epe ra-'ami-mi KA-'oti-RA ng-koni'.
he(GF)-*hear they*(GF)-*amen*-PFT DP-*done-their* AF-*eat*
He heard them say the amen after they finished eating.

(288) Ria-i pidi we'i hi pongko KA-mo-keno-KU tumai.
is-he still earlier at tower DP-INT-*run-my here*
He was still there earlier at the tower when I ran here.

In example (286) the dependent clause KA-ra-bini'-NA tohe'e gives the time/circumstances for the main event of the sentence: *Upon their opening of their eyes ....* In example (287) the dependent clause KA-'oti-RA ng-koni' states the time of the action: ... *as/after they finished eating/upon their finishing eating.* Similarly in example (288) the dependent clause introduced by ka- sets the time: *when I ran here/upon my running here.*

8.5 Finally these dependent verb forms are used within the discourse structure of Uma narratives to mark heightened action. This heightening-of-action function is always marked by the presence of the perfective -mi clitic on the dependent form. Although in form these verbs are dependent, the context shows that they are not subordinate or marginal, but are in fact encoding main events, and often climactic or exciting events at that. The purpose of the dependent form in such cases is to accentuate the immediacy of the action. Dependent verbs functioning in this role usually occur immediately following the climax of a story. Note the dependent verb forms in the following examples that are translated in ALL CAPS.

(289) KA-na-'epe-NA bengka hi'a-mi to ra-koni' KA-geo'-NA-mi
DP-*he*(GF)-*hear-his buffalo he*-PFT REL 3p(GF)-*eat* DP-*cry-his*-PFT
When the buffalo heard that he was the one to be eaten, HE CRIED.

(290) Lako' hore ha-mibe'-ra-di, haruu wobo' na-bea pue' tomi.
just each one-bit-their-CTR *boom door he*(GF)-*open owner house*

KA-mpara-dongko-RA-mi me-tibo'.
DP-*-*jump-their*-PFT INT-*flee*
They had each had just a bit when boom (went) the door (as) the owner of the house opened it. THEY JUMPED HELTER-SKELTER making their escape!

In the above examples, verbs with the form ka-...*possessive pronoun* and perfective -mi highlight the action. Rather than being just dependent clauses within a sentence, these verb forms encode backbone events of the narrative. For instance in example (289), at the denouement of the story, when the buffalo finds out that he is to be eaten, KA-geo'-NA-mi *he cried.* The reason that the dependent form is used here instead of the regular finite geo'-i-mi *(cry-he*-PFT*) he cried*, is to show how immediately the event follows the preceding event both temporally and logically. (Note also, by the way, that the first clause of (289) contains a dependent verb form as well, showing the time/circumstance of the buffalo's crying.) In example (290) the verb KA-mpara-dongko-RA-mi *they jumped helter-skelter* shows the excitement or the immediate subsequent action of the mice in making their escape. Often dependent verb forms thus marking heightened action can be translated *And so ...*, such as example (290): *And so they jumped helter-skelter making their escape.*

Examples of dependent verbs functioning to heighten the action in a narrative are often found at the climax or denouement of a story.

(291) KA-ra-dampa-NA-mi pai'-ra me-tibo'-mi.
DP-*they*(GF)-*drop-his*-PFT *and-they* INT-*flee*-PFT
(So) they dropped him and they fled.

(292) KA-soho'-NA-mi nono-ra, apa' mate-mi manu'ra.
DP-*sorry*-3s-PFT *heart-their for dead*-PFT *chicken-their*
(So) they were sorry, for their chicken was dead.

The above two examples illustrate the use of dependent verbs at the denouement of a story. In example (291) the ghosts, having been suddenly frightened by something, drop the man they are carrying and flee. This is the most exciting part of the story, immediately following the climax. It is encoded by a dependent verb form plus the perfective -mi clitic. The dependent verb here is obviously not used to make a subordinate clause. Rather its function is to accentuate how immediately this event follows the previous one - as if the events

come tumbling one after the other as the story hastens to a close. Likewise in (292), a man and his wife kill their chicken that had laid a golden egg. They did not find any gold inside like they had hoped, KA-soho'-NA-mi nono-ra *AND SO they were sad.* Again, this significant action in the story, following immediately after the climax, is encoded with a dependent verb form plus -mi, marking the IMMEDIACY of the event.

Dependent verbs that heighten action are also often used immediately following a quote or a conversation. Perhaps the function of the dependent form in such situations is again to indicate that the action immediately follows or results from the conversation.

(293)a. Na-'uli', "Nculii'-a-ma kuna rala ponulu."
he(GF)-*say return-I*-PFT AS.1s *in jungle*
He said, "I am going back to the jungle!"

b. KA-mo-gaa'-RA-mi.
DP-INT-*separate-their*-PFT
(So) they parted company.

(294) Na-'uli' tomane-na, "Kita hilou mo-niu' hi halu'." KA-hilou-RA-mi.
he(GF)-*say husband-her lets go* INT-*bathe in stream* DP-*go-their*-PFT
Her husband said, "Let's go bathe in the stream." (AND SO) they went.

The above two examples both start out with a quote (part (a)) followed by an action encoded with a dependent verb form with a perfective -mi attached (part (b)). Note in example (293), for instance, that after the mouse's speech, in which he insists on going back home, *they part company.* The form of the verb is not mo-gaa'-ra-mo (INT-*separate-they*-PFT) *they parted company*, but KA-mo-gaa'-RA-mi (DP-INT-*separate-their*-PFT) *their having parted company.* Because of the close relation this dependent verb form has with the quote, it is probably best translated *AND SO they parted company.*

Dependent verb forms using po-...*possessive pronoun* can also be used to show heightened action.

(295)a. Na-'uli' tuama-na, "Iko mpu'u-mi dei'?"
he(GF)-*say father-her you really*-PFT *girl*
Her father said, "Is it really you, girl?"

b. Na-tompoi', "Aku'-mi mama."
she(GF)-*answer I*-PFT *daddy*
She answered, "It's me, daddy."

c. PO-me-hoko'-RA-mi hira' tau tolu.
DP-RECIP-*hug-their*-PFT *they person three*
(AND SO) the three of them hugged each other.

(296)a. KA-ra-bahaka-NA-mi baru-ra,
DP-*they*(GF)-*release*-3s-PFT *palm.wine-their*
(AND SO) they abandoned their palm wine,

b. PO-keno-RA-mi hilou hi tomi.
DP-*run-they*-PFT *go to house*
and ran back to the house.

Notice in example (295) that immediately following the conversational exchange, the verb form is not the normal finite mo-me-hoko'-ra-mo (INT-RECIP-*hug-they*-PFT) *they hugged each other*, but PO-me-hoko'-RA-mi (DP-RECIP-*hug-their*-PFT) *their*

hugging each other - translatable as, *AND SO they hugged each other.* Example (296) occurs at the climax of a story. Once again, to show heightened action, both verbs are dependent in form, the first one with ka-, the second with po-.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A-foc	subject focus	LOC	locative suffix
AF	subject focus prefix	NV	non-volitional prefix
AFF	affected prefix	p	plural
AG	Agent-marking prefix	PFT	perfective clitic
AS	assertive clitic	RECIP	reciprocal clitic
ATT	attemptive prefix	REDUP	reduplication
BEN	benefactive clitic	REFL	reflexive prefix
CAUS	causative prefix	REL	relative clause marker
CM	commiserative clitic	REQ	requestive prefix cluster
CONT	continuative clitic	s	singular
CTR	contrastive clitic	SPEC	speculative clitic
DP	dependent verb form marker	TD	transitive derivational prefix
ex	exclusive	TR	transitive inflectional prefix
G-foc	goal focus	VF	verb-forming suffix
GF	goal focus form	1	first person
in	inclusive	2	second person
INS	insight clitic	3	third person
INT	intransitive prefix	1+2	first + second person

NOTES

[1] See Esser 1964:36 for a chart similar to Chart 1.

[2] Throughout this paper I will use the term 'subject' to indicate just what I have shown in examples (6) and (7). The subject of a transitive verb is the ACTOR. This is contrary to the view argued so well in Bell 1976 for Philippine languages, that the topic is the subject. For those who insist that topic is subject, 'subject' and 'object' of transitive verbs should be interpreted as 'actor' and 'goal'.

[3] The only exception is that G-foc verbs can also be prefixed with the non-volitional te- (see section 4.2).

[4] This same phenomenon is found also in Philippine languages. Abrams (1970) mentions that in Bilaan there is no overt signal of A-foc or G-foc for certain derived verb stems. The focus-signalling unit is the topic or non-topic pronoun.

[5] The mechanism by which non-topic actor pronouns became prefixes in Uma probably is related to the pervasive use of auxiliary verbs in Proto-Austronesian that Starosta et al. 1982 reconstruct. According to their reconstruction, these auxiliaries attracted clitics (including the non-topic actor pronoun clitics) to a position before the main verb. Perhaps in the immediate proto-language from which Uma developed, these non-topic actor clitics were in preverbal position so much that they just settled down and stayed put right there. When the G-foc prefixes were deleted (perhaps because they were partially redundant) the non-topic actor clitics became prefixes (see section 7.5 and note 32).

[6] Simple prepositions are ones such as hi *at/to*, ngkai *from*, hante *with*, and hewa *like*. Compound prepositions do not take independent pronouns, but rather use possessive clitics; for instance: hi rala-NA *(at inside-its) inside it*, hi nyanyoa-NU *(at front-your) in front of you.*

[7] It should be noted that there are several other po- prefixes on Uma verbs; for instance the po- causative and the po- transitive derivational prefixes (see sections 4.3 and 4.51). This is a confusing area of Uma morphology, and it is often difficult to tell which po- is being used. The po- under discussion here is not a derivational affix and is always deleted in the G-foc.

[8] When N- is prefixed to a stem beginning with either s or h, the result is nc, a prenasalised alveopalatal affricate. This is because many h's in Uma are historically derived from s.

[9] This is true except in the case of antipassives (see section 3.6).

[10] The A-foc forms used in these examples all use the relative conjunction to *(He's THE ONE WHO, I'm THE ONE WHO*, etc.). The purpose of this is to make the examples natural Uma. A sentence such as Hi'a m-po-weba'-a *(he* AF-TR-*hit-me) He hit me* (example (43a) with the relative to removed) would be understandable Uma, but awkward.

[11] The consonant h in Uma is nasalised, which explains its patterning with the nasal consonants.

[12] Uma words cognate with Indonesian tend to have o where Indonesian has a or e (schwa); for instance: ponu' *full* (Indonesian penuh), tonu' *horn, antler* (Indonesian tanduk). Present-day Uma pronunciation when speaking Indonesian also shows this same tendency to use o; for instance: Indonesian teman *friend* is pronounced toman by many Umas; and Indonesian berdiri *to stand* as bordiri.

[13] Because there is more than one prefix po-, some verb forms are ambiguous. For instance, m-po-koni' can be the A-foc form of *to eat* (N- plus transitive po- and koni' *to eat*). Or it can be an A-foc form for *to cause to eat/to feed* (N- plus causative derivational po- and koni'). This second meaning can also be expressed by the fuller form m-po-po-koni', using both the transitive po- and the causative po-. In G-foc, there is not any ambiguity: na-koni' *(he*(GF)-*eat) he eats* vs. na-po-koni' *(he*(GF)-CAUS-*eat) he feeds (someone).*

[14] It is possible to interpret the attemptive pe- and the transitive derivational pe- as merely different functions of one and the same morpheme. Such an analysis would combine columns 4 and 5 of Chart 3. I have tentatively posited two separate pe- morphemes on the basis of some elicited (and therefore questionable) forms such as:

> Walo toe ku-PE-pe-ng-ka-la-dio-i'.
> *bamboo that I*(GF)-ATT-TD-AG-AFF-REFL-*dangle*-LOC
> *I tried dangling myself from the bamboo (to see if it was strong enough to hold my weight).*

From the verb root dio' *dangle* one can build the intransitive verb word me-ng-ka-la-dio' (INT-AG-AFF-REFL-*dangle*) *to dangle oneself* and the transitive verb word ku-pe-ng-ka-la-dio-i' *(I*(GF)-TD-AG-AFF-REFL-*dangle*-LOC*) I dangle myself from (it).* The form in the above example, however, has an extra pe-, the attemptive pe- (ALL CAPS), which adds the meaning of *trying/testing out.*

[15] Elkins (1970:62) mentions a prefix peki- in Western Bukidnon Manobo (a Philippine language located on Mindanao) with the same meaning as this pope- in Uma. He also notes that this prefix is only used in A-foc, just like its Uma counterpart.

[16] In modern Uma *under* is hi une'. This more archaic form ri une' is more similar to the Kaili form.

[17] Intransitive forms for examples (100) and (101) do not occur in my data. Note that the root in example (101b), pesoba is probably a loanword from Indonesian coba *to try, attempt*, evidence that the pe- was at one time probably separable from the root.

[18] Out of context the prefix cluster poka- is ambiguous. It can either be transitive derivational po- plus affected ka- (section 4.81), or causative po- plus affected ka- (section 4.82). For instance, the stem po-ka-goe' (from the root goe' *to be glad*) can either mean *to be glad about* (if the po- is transitive derivational) or *to gladden, cause to be glad* (if the po- is causative derivational). Of course, there are ways to avoid this ambiguity, and the context usually clarifies which is meant.

[19] Esser (1964:1) mentions the propensity that Uma has of harmonising vowels in words over three-syllables long.

[20] This is not to say that -i and -a are infixes. The word-final glottal of Uma is not a true consonant, but a suprasegmental that is always manifested at the end of the stem. Since -i and -a become part of the stem, the final glottal is 'shoved along' so as to remain at the end.

[21] Starosta et al. 1982 show that the suffix -i in Manobo is used whenever there is an auxiliary word (such as a negative) that attracts a clitic pronoun. Their suggestion is that this reflects a dependent inflected verb form.

[22] The phenomenon of a cluster of verbal clitics may be quite widespread in Philippine languages. Elkins (1970:18ff), for example, describes the "adjunct cluster" of one Manobo language as "a substring of clause level constituents which occur in a fixed order relative to each other and which are permuted as a unit". This is similar to Uma verb clitics, which occur in a fixed relative order and, as will be seen in section 7.5, permute as a unit to preverbal position. Moreover, the inventory of functions covered by the Manobo adjunct cluster roughly matches the functions of the Uma postverbal clitics (for instance: completive, incompletive, emphatic, 'only'), though one is hard pressed to find cognates between these Manobo and Uma clitics.

[23] Esser (1964:38) contains charts virtually identical to Chart 6.

[24] It is also possible to interpret the data in the opposite way, that Uma is in the process of pulling postverbal pronouns closer to the verb. But since enclitic pronouns very similar to those found in Uma are extensively used in Philippine languages, the more plausible explanation is that Uma has retained these enclitic pronouns and is only now beginning to lose them.

[25] Uma procedural discourses can also be viewed as narration of past events, thus using the perfective -mi clitic. The discourse can be cast in 1+2 *(we* (in) *do this and that)*, as in the example, or 2s *(you do this and that)* or 3p *(they do this and that/this and that is done)*.

[26] It is possible that the -ki of Uma and ka of Kaili are related historically to the oblique pronoun sets found in Philippine languages like Manobo (see Elkins 1970, Harmon 1979). These oblique pronouns, used for indirect object, non-topic objects and referents, etc. are all prefixed with kan- or ken- or ka-, depending on the language. Perhaps in Uma this same kan- is attached to the end of the verb rather than to the pronoun following the verb.

[27] One utterance in my data uses both continuative -pi and damo together: Ha-lapi-pi damo *(one-layer*-CONT *thus) Only one more layer to go.* But some Umas report that this sentence is awkward. It should be noted that the three two-syllable clitics (pidi, wadi, damo) are presumed to be able to co-occur with benefactive -ki, but no unelicited examples have been noted.

[28] See Martens 1986 for a detailed analysis of the emotive clitics.

[29] These two tags sometimes occur together as ele.

[30] The meaning of these temporal adverbs varies markedly from dialect to dialect. In Tolee', for instance, we'i is used for any time in the past, and ngone is not used.

[31] In the Tobaku dialect, ko'ia is ompa.

[32] This phenomenon of postverbal clitics or particles being shunted to preverbal position is not unique to Uma. It is quite common in Philippine languages. In Tagalog, for instance, enclitic pronouns normally following the verb are pulled away and attached to the clause-initial negative hindi, as well as other clause-initial auxiliaries (Dr Charles Peck, personal communication). Abrams (1970:395) notes that in Bilaan (a minority language of the Philippines) if there is an adverb before the verb, pronouns that normally follow the verb are pulled forward and follow the adverb instead. Shetler (1976:93, 148) shows examples of Balangao which almost exactly parallel Uma: a negative word before the verb causes clitic pronouns on the verb to be pulled forward and attach to the negative. Starosta et al. (1982) believe that this phenomenon is explained by positing that Proto-Austronesian had a set of auxiliary verbs which, because they were the grammatical head of the sentence, powerfully attracted clitics from the 'main' verbs that they governed. Although the form and functions of these proto-auxiliaries have changed over the centuries, this process of pulling clitics off of the main verb and attaching them to some preverbal element remains in force in many languages of the Philippines, and in Uma. Other languages of Sulawesi and Indonesia in general probably also exhibit this pattern.

[33] Of these auxiliaries, only kana cannot be followed by a clitic pronoun. Thus *kana-i hilou *(must-he go) *He must go* is unacceptable, but kana hilou-i *(must go-he) He must go* is acceptable.

[34] Nominalisations of verbs in Uma are accomplished by several different constructions:
(a) Ka- -a creates abstract nouns, such as ka-noa-a' *truth, certainly* from the same root as the intransitive verb mo-noa' *to be straight, certain.*
(b) Po- -a creates place nouns, such as po-turu-a *sleeping place, bed* from turu *lie down, sleep.*
(c) The infix -in- creates factitive nouns, that is, nouns that result from the action of the verb. For example: p-in-olili *boiled food,* from the transitive verb root polili *to cook by boiling.*
(d) -A creates nouns that mean *the raw material for doing such-and-such,* such as tuja-a' *seeds to be planted* from the transitive verb tuja' *to plant.*

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APPENDIX: A brief comparison of Da'a and Uma verbs

If one compares Da'a and Uma verbs affix for affix, the following salient points emerge (the following discussion generally follows the order presented in Barr's Da'a verb morphology paper (Barr 1986)):

DERIVATIONAL AFFIXES

(1) Both Uma and Da'a have a ka- affected prefix with basically the same functions.

(2) Both Da'a and Uma use pa-, pe-, and po- to form derived transitive stems. In both languages, there seems to be no distinction in meaning among these three prefixes, except that pa- tends to have a causative meaning. In Uma, pe- has more usages, being used for the requestive affix, and also being used with an attemptive/deliberative sense.

(3) Uma does not use the transitive suffixes -raka, -saka, -taka, -naka and -aka. There are a few verb forms in Uma in which such a suffix appears to have become a fixed part of the root; for example, sarumaka *to hope for*, todohaka *to suffer*, and tumolaka *to shove* (probably cognate with Indonesian tolak). Only one verb in Uma is derived with such a suffix: the root sapu *to deny* has the transitive and/or intensive form sapuaka *to repudiate, deny (something)*.

(4) Both Da'a and Uma have a po- causative prefix in addition to the pa-/pe-/po- transitive derivational prefixes.

(5) Both Da'a and Uma have a requestive prefix. In Da'a it is ki- and in Uma it is pe- (or more specifically, the cluster pope-).

(6) Da'a lacks the -i locative suffix that is so productive in Uma.

INFLECTIONAL AFFIXES

(1) Both Da'a and Uma use a nasal consonant to mark actor-focus. The form is different, since Da'a also specifies realis or irrealis with the same affix. Da'a uses na-/ma- with intransitives; Uma uses mo-/ma-/me- with most intransitive verbs, N- with some, and no prefix at all with some others. In Uma N-po- or just N- is used for transitive actor-focus verbs. This is a po- prefix not found in Da'a, though the mba- prefix found with many transitive actor-focus verbs in Da'a may be somehow related. The nasal of the Uma actor-focus forms probably corresponds to the N- that marks agency/transitivity in Da'a verbs. Thus the Da'a form na-N-koni (realis) or ma-N-koni (irrealis) *to eat* corresponds to the Uma forms N-koni' or N-po-koni' *to eat* in the following way:

Da'a: na-/ma- N- # koni

Uma: # N- po- koni'

(2) Uma lacks overt affixation to mark goal-focus. Da'a uses ni- (realis) and ra- (irrealis).

(3) Uma verbs lack the realis/irrealis distinction which is so pervasive in Da'a.

(4) Imperatives are formed in much the same way in both languages. Intransitive imperatives usually use the perfective -mo (Da'a) or -mi (Uma). Transitive imperatives are usually goal-focus, but the second person pronoun is usually omitted. Negative imperatives, if transitive, are usually goal-focus, such as the Uma: Neo' ra-koni' *(don't* 3p(GF)*-eat) Don't eat it!/Don't let it be eaten!*

(5) Both languages have a reciprocal aspect. In Da'a the affix is si-. In Uma si- is also used, but the more common affix is me-. In Da'a this reciprocal affix also can mark multiple actors, but this usage is rare or non-existent in Uma.

(6) Both languages have a non-volitional aspect, marked with te- or ti-.

(7) Both languages have a benefactive. In Da'a the form is ka. In Uma the base form is -ki. In Uma -ki is an enclitic form; it is attached to the verb and reacts morphophonemically with the enclitic topic pronouns. The ka of Da'a seems to be more loosely attached to the verb than the -ki of Uma.

(8) Both languages have a pretense aspect. In Da'a the form is meti-, in Uma pe-. Uma does, however, have a prefix meti-/meki- meaning *to accuse someone of something*; this could be related to the Da'a meti-.

(9) Both Da'a and Uma use an affix po- for purposive functions. In Da'a this is treated as a separate aspect, whereas in Uma it is treated as a special usage of the transitive derivational prefix po-.

(10) Both languages use reduplication to show repetition or continuousness.

PRONOUNS

(1) Da'a uses independent pronouns extensively, whereas in Uma they are comparatively rare.

(2) Non-topic agent proclitic pronouns are rare in Da'a, and only in two persons (1s ku- and 2s mu-). In Uma non-topic agent proclitics are not only the norm, they are the only way to form goal-focus verbs. All seven distinctions of person and number are made: ku- *I*, nu- *you*, na- *he*, ki- *we*, ni- *you*(p), ra- *they*, and ta- *we*(in).

(3) Non-topic agent enclitics are not used in Uma. Since Da'a has prefixes for realis and irrealis, it must put the non-topic agent after the root: ni-koni-ku (GF/realis-*eat-I*) *It was eaten by me/I ate it.* Uma, lacking the realis and irrealis prefixes, puts the agent pronouns up front: ku-koni' *(I*(GF)*-eat) I ate it.* It would be interesting to find out how this came about historically and if there were any in-between stages in the process. For instance: did Uma lose the realis and irrealis prefixes first, then pull the non-topic actor pronouns up to the front of the verb? Or did Uma start pulling the non-topic actor pronouns to the front, thus displacing the prefixes marking realis and irrealis?

(4) Uma has a complete set of enclitic topic pronouns: -a *I*, -ko *you*, -i *he*, -kai *we*, -koi *you*(p), -ra *they*, and -ta *we*(in). This is the primary pronoun form used in Uma, but it is entirely lacking in Da'a.

MODALS

(1) Da'a has a proclitic da meaning durative action. Uma does not have this proclitic. But it does have a two-syllable enclitic form pidi that means *still*; this enclitic was formed in Uma when the proclitic da was displaced to post-verbal position and coalesced with the enclitic continuative -pi (see example (210)).

(2) Da'a does not have the contrastive -di enclitic found in Uma.

(3) Both Uma and Da'a have a perfective clitic: in Da'a it always has the form -mo. In Uma the base form is -mi with allomorphs -mo and -ma. In both languages, this is a true clitic, not affecting the placement of stress on the root word. This contrasts with the Ledo dialect of Kaili, where the perfective

-mo is a suffix, causing the stress of the root word to which it is suffixed to shift one syllable to the right.

(4) Both Da'a and Uma have a continuative clitic. It is -pa in Da'a; in Uma it is -pi with allomorphs -pa and sometimes -po.

(5) Da'a lacks most of the two-syllable clitics that are so common in Uma; for instance the emotives (hawo, hana, etc.) and the tag clitics (le, -e, etc.). The Uma adverb-like clitics wadi *just* and damo *thus* may have analogous adverbial forms in Da'a.

(6) The Uma clitic raising rule that pulls clitics to preverbal position in negated verb phrases may be operative in Da'a, but this needs further investigation.

SUMMARY

In summary, it can be said that Da'a verbs are more complex in morphology, especially in verb prefixes; whereas Uma verbs are more complex in verb phrase structure, especially in the use of enclitics. Morphologically, Da'a and Uma contrast in three major ways:

(1) Realis/Irrealis: Da'a marks this distinction with verbal prefixes. Uma does not have this distinction.

(2) Goal-focus markers and the use of non-topic agent pronouns: Da'a uses overt goal-focus prefixes and usually marks non-topic agents as enclitics. Uma has no overt goal-focus prefixes and non-topic agents are always prefixes.

(3) Enclitic topic pronouns: Uma has a complete set of enclitic topic pronouns. These pronouns are used extensively in Uma. Da'a lacks this pronoun set.

It is my opinion that the parent language from which Da'a and Uma sprang more closely resembled Da'a in points (1) and (2) above, but more closely resembled Uma in point (3).

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FOCUS AND DISCOURSE IN UMA

Michael Martens

1. INTRODUCTION

In their paper 'Transitivity in grammar and discourse', Hopper and Thompson (1980) postulate that transitivity is not a dichotomy (transitive or intransitive), but a continuum. Transitivity in traditional terms is the carrying over or transfer of action from one participant to another. Several features of the clause control how effectively this transfer is accomplished. Hopper and Thompson broaden the term transitivity and specify ten features that correlate with degree of transitivity (high vs. low). These features are:[1]

(1)

	HIGH	LOW
1. PARTICIPANTS	2 or more	1 participant
2. KINESIS	action	non-action
3. ASPECT	telic/perfective	atelic/non-perfective
4. PUNCTUALITY	punctual	non-punctual
5. VOLITIONALITY	volitional	non-volitional
6. AFFIRMATION	affirmation	negative
7. MODE	realis	irrealis
8. AGENCY	A high in potency	A low in potency
9. AFFECTEDNESS OF O	O totally affected	O not affected
10. INDIVIDUATION OF O	O highly individuated	O non-individuated

Simply stated, Hopper and Thompson's 'transitivity hypothesis' states that high transitivity features tend to co-occur, as do those of low transitivity. For instance, negative clauses and clauses with indefinite O's (features low in transitivity) are both marked as less transitive in many languages. Clause types that encode one of the high transitivity features (e.g. definite object) often encode other high transitivity features as well (e.g. perfective aspect).

The second main point of Hopper and Thompson's (1980) paper is that the same features that correlate with *high transitivity* also correlate with *foregrounding* (i.e. event line) in narrative discourse. They note that in Tagalog, clauses with OBJECT FOCUS verbs (more transitive by their criteria), tend to convey FOREGROUNDED EVENTS. Conversely, transitive verbs in the BACKGROUND are *seldom* OBJECT FOCUS (p.289).

Uma[2] has a simple two-way focus system: OBJECT FOCUS (O-FOC) and ACTOR FOCUS (A-FOC). This paper will describe the transitivity features employed in these two focus forms, and show how the focus system functions in Uma narrative discourse. To accomplish this, attention must first be paid to matters of pronominal reference and verb morphology. I turn now to these basic facts of Uma structure.

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2. VERB MORPHOLOGY

2.1 Pronominal affixation

Uma has two sets of pronominal affixes that occur on verbs. The first is the ERGATIVE PERSON PREFIXES, which mark the SUBJECT of a TRANSITIVE verb. The forms are shown below.

(2)

	SG.	PL.
1st	ku-	ta-(incl.)
		ki-(excl.)
2nd	nu-	ni-
3rd	na-	ra-

These prefixes are exemplified below with the verb weba' *hit.*

(3)

ku-weba' *I hit (someone)*	ta-weba' *We*(incl.) *hit (someone)*
	ki-weba' *We*(excl.) *hit (someone)*
nu-weba' *You hit (someone)*	ni-weba' *You*(pl.) *hit (someone)*
na-weba' *He hit (someone)*	ra-weba' *They hit (someone)*

The second set of pronominal affixes is the ABSOLUTIVE PERSON ENCLITICS. These enclitics are used to mark the SUBJECT of an INTRANSITIVE verb. The forms are:

(4)

	SG.	PL.
1st	-a	-ta(incl.)
		-kai(excl.)
2nd	-ko	-koi
3rd	-i	-ra

The ABSOLUTIVE enclitics are illustrated with the intransitive verb modungka *to fall down.*

(5)

modungka-a *I fall down*	modungka-ta *We*(incl.) *fall down*
	modungka-kai *We*(excl.) *fall down*
modungka-ko *You fall down*	modungka-koi *You*(pl.) *fall down*
modungka-i *He falls down*	modungka-ra *They fall down*

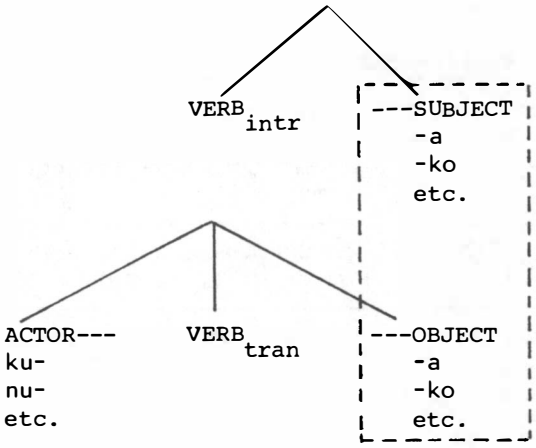
Another use of the ABSOLUTIVE PERSON ENCLITICS, as expected, is to mark the OBJECT of a TRANSITIVE verb. The forms are identical to those used for the subject of an intransitive verb, as shown below, again with the verb weba' *to hit.*

(6)

na-weba'-a *He hits me*	na-weba'-ta *He hits us*(incl.)
	na-weba'-kai *He hits us*(excl.)
na-weba'-ko *He hits you*	na-weba'-koi *He hits you*(pl.)
na-weba'-i *He hits him*	na-weba'-ra *He hits them*

As reflected in the pronominal facts above, Uma is to some extent an ERGATIVE language. The situation may be demonstrated as follows:

(7)



The subject of the intransitive verb and the object of the transitive verb are classed together via the ABSOLUTIVE PERSON ENCLITICS (-a, -ko, etc.). The subject of the transitive verb, on the other hand, is marked as distinct through the ERGATIVE PERSON PREFIXES (ku-, nu-, etc.).

It should be noted in passing that the ABSOLUTIVE PERSON ENCLITICS are not true suffixes, but, as their name indicates, enclitics. This is evident, first of all, in the fact that they do not alter the stress of the root word to which they are attached, as true suffixes do in Uma. Second, they are not attached exclusively to the verb proper, but can occur attached to conjunctions or negatives before the verb, or to adverbials or nominals after the verb, as the sample sentences below illustrate (enclitics IN CAPS).

(8) hilou mpu'u-i
go really-HE
HE really went.

(9) m-pali' poturua-ku wo'o-a
AF-*search bed-my also-I*
I'm hunting for a bed too.

(10) ... pai'-ra me-tibo'-mi kiu
and-THEY VBLSR-*scram*-PERF *ghost*
... and the ghosts scrammed.

In (8) and (9) the enclitic subject of the clause (-i and -a respectively) is not attached to the verb word, but is at the very end of the clause after the adverbial (mpu'u *really* and wo'o *also*). In (10) the enclitic -ra *they* is before the verb, attached to the conjunction pai' *and*.

2.2 Structure of the verb

The pronominal facts discussed so far may be placed next in the larger setting of the relevant verb morphology, as summarised below:

(11)

	ERGATIVE PERSON PREFIX	VERBAL-ISER	TRANSI-TIVISER	STEM	ABSOLUTIVE PERSON ENCLITIC
1. INTR	Ø	mo- (or Ø)	Ø	INTR STEM	to mark subject
2. TRANS (A-FOC)	Ø	N-	(po-)	TRANS STEM	to mark object (normally)
3. TRANS (O-FOC)	ku- nu- etc.	Ø	Ø	TRANS STEM	to mark object

The intransitive verb, Row 1, cannot take an ERGATIVE PERSON PREFIX (i.e. Ø). The typical intransitive verb begins with the verbaliser (VBLSR) mo-.[3] A few common intransitive verbs, however, have no prefixation at all. Finally, the subject of the intransitive verb as detailed at the outset of the paper, is indicated by an ABSOLUTIVE PERSON ENCLITIC. The following sentences are illustrative.

(12) lako' rata-kai wengi.
just arrive-we(excl.) *yesterday*
We just arrived yesterday.

(13) mo-kore-i-di
VBLSR-*stand-he*-ASSERT
He's actually standing!

(12) is an example of an intransitive verb with no prefixation (rata *arrive*), and (13) has the prefix mo- (mo-kore *to stand*). In both examples the subject is marked by an ABSOLUTIVE PERSON ENCLITIC after the verb (-kai and -i respectively).

Transitive verbs in Uma are either ACTOR FOCUS (A-FOC) or OBJECT FOCUS (O-FOC). In Row 2 of (11), the ERGATIVE PERSON PREFIX is obligatorily ABSENT from an A-FOC verb form. A-FOC verbs ALWAYS begin with the prefix N-, which, while corresponding to the mo- verbaliser prefix for intransitive verbs, may safely be labelled an A-FOC marker, and thus is glossed as AF in examples. The N- prefix occurs only and always on A-FOC verbs. The usual morphophonemic variant of N- is m-, since it so commonly occurs before the po- transitivising prefix or before one of the several derivational prefixes in Uma, most of which begin with p.

Most A-FOC verb forms have a po- transitivising prefix, though for certain verbs and in certain circumstances it may be deleted. The most common form for a verb in A-FOC is the form m-po-STEM, for example:

(14) m-po-keni, from the stem keni *carry*
m-po-weba', from the stem weba' *hit*
m-po-hilo, from the stem hilo *see*

In Row 3 of (11) above, an O-FOC verb form obligatorily takes an ERGATIVE PERSON PREFIX, and obligatorily DELETES both the A-FOC prefix N- and the transitivising prefix po-. Compare the corresponding A-FOC and O-FOC verb forms below:

(15)	A-FOC	O-FOC
a.	m-po-keni *carry*	na-keni *he carried (it)*
b.	m-po-weba' *hit*	na-weba' *he hit (it)*
c.	ng-koni' *eat*	na-koni' *he ate (it)*
d.	m-patehi *kill*	na-patehi *he killed (it)*

cf. the A-FOC forms in the lefthand column, (15a) and (b) have the prefixation m-po-, and (15c) and (d) have the prefixation N- (i.e. minus the po-). The O-FOC forms in the righthand column, however, have none of these prefixes, but instead have the na- 3sg. ERGATIVE PERSON PREFIX marking the Actor.

In O-FOC, the postposed ABSOLUTIVE PERSON ENCLITICS encode the object of the verb, as the following sentences illustrate (enclitics IN CAPS):

(16) ku-patehi-i
I(OF)*-kill-HIM*
I killed HIM.

(17) doko' na-koni'-a
want he(OF)*-eat-ME*
He wants to eat ME.

2.3 O-FOC as a more highly transitive construction

As was noted earlier, Uma is morphologically ERGATIVE in regard to pronominal affixation on the verb. What must be noted, however, is that *only in the O-FOC form* is the transitive subject marked by the ERGATIVE PERSON PREFIX. For the A-FOC form, no ERGATIVE PERSON PREFIX occurs; the subject is not marked in the verb, but rather is indicated either by an independent NP or is implicit from the context. The following two sentences - a 'minimal pair' in terms of focus - illustrate this nicely:

(18) Ntinapu m-po-wangu tomi-na hi Bulu'.
Ntinapu AF-T*-build house-his at Bulu'*
Ntinapu built his house at Bulu'.

(19) na-wangu (Ntinapu) tomi-na hi Bulu'.
he(OF)*-build (Ntinapu) house-his at Bulu'*
Ntinapu built his house at Bulu'.

In (18) the A-FOC form m-po-wangu *build* occurs. By definition, the Actor is not marked in this verb, but is indicated by the noun Ntinapu (the name of a folk hero). In (19), however, na-wangu *he built*, is O-FOC, and the Actor is marked in the verb by the prefix na-, a 3sg. ERGATIVE PERSON PREFIX. This na- is obligatory, but the Actor can be further marked by an optional NP immediately after the verb, as indicated in (19) by the parenthetically marked (Ntinapu).

All of this accords with Hopper and Thompson's (1980) transitivity theory, according to which:

1. Constructions that mark *transitive subjects* as ERGATIVE are *higher* in TRANSITIVITY than those that do not (p.268); and
2. In languages with focus, the O-FOC forms are *higher* in TRANSITIVITY than A-FOC forms (pp.292-294).

Since the Uma O-FOC verb form is also ERGATIVE, it doubly qualifies as a HIGH TRANSITIVITY construction. The transitivity hypothesis predicts that O-FOC will encode certain other positive transitivity features, too. This is indeed what happens in Uma, as I will describe throughout the next section of the paper.

3. FOCUS AND DISCOURSE

In the previous section I have dealt with the basic morphological facts about Uma focus. Although we can learn much about how focus works by comparing various clauses and sentences, yet such a 'clause-level' approach can only yield insights that are symptomatic of the larger patterns of DISCOURSE, in terms of which a full discussion of FOCUS must be given. I outline this next.

3.1 NEW and OLD information

The communication process involves a fundamental task of continuous monitoring by the speaker of the knowledge that is (or is believed to be) shared between him and his hearer(s). Thus OLD (shared) INFORMATION must be linguistically distinguished from NEW INFORMATION. For NARRATIVE DISCOURSE, the 'grand design' for introduction of NEW INFORMATION while maintaining memory of OLD INFORMATION may be diagrammed as follows:

(20) STAGES	NEW INFORMATION			FOCUS
1. Existential	S ---	V		Intransitive, Stative
		↓		
	OLD	NEW	NEW	
2. Initial Action	S	V	(O)	Intransitive, A-FOC Transitive
		↓		
	OLD	NEW	OLD	
3. Developmental Action	S	V	O	O-FOC Transitive

The scenario sketched above conveys a normal sequence in which the speaker in Stage 1 tells the hearer *what exists*. This regularly involves some kind of non-action verb associated with a referent. Typically an intransitive or stative construction is expected (e.g. 'There was a man'). In Stage 2, since the referent is now known, it becomes OLD INFORMATION, while other sentence material is typically NEW INFORMATION. This stage, in which the initial action of the narrative begins, may be implemented with another more active but intransitive sentence, or with a transitive one. If the latter, and if a FOCUS SYSTEM is involved, one expects ACTOR FOCUS.

Finally, in Stage 3, the Developmental stage, a fully transitive action is under way and the narrative begins to develop. At this point the subject is still OLD INFORMATION and the object *becomes* OLD INFORMATION, with only the verb retaining the NEW INFORMATION bearing function that moves the narrative forward. From a focus perspective, the OBJECT FOCUS is expected. This narrative process may be illustrated by the following discourse fragment from Uma.

(21) STAGE 1 a. ria ana' rodua, paka' tomane ...
is child two all male
There were two children, both boys ...

b. hilou-ra-mo hi Bulu'kuku,
go-they-PERF *to Bulu'kuku*
They went to Bulu'kuku,

STAGE 2 c. turu hi rehe'e-ra-mo
sleep at there-they-PERF
They slept there.

d. ... m-po-epe-ra danci lowi to moni.
AF-T-*hear-they bird lowi* REL *sound*
... *they heared a lowi bird making noise.*

STAGE 3 e. ... ra-pali' ... ra-hilo ncarake hi ra'a
they(OF)-*search they*(OF)-*see perch on branch*
... *They searched (for it) ... they saw (it) perched on a branch.*

Stage 1, the Existential Stage of this discourse fragment is seen in (21a) with the existential statement ria ana' rodua *there were two children*. This introduces the first participants. Next, the Initial Action, Stage 2 in (21b) and (c) begins to create the setting of the narrative with the intransitive verbs hilou ... turu *went ... slept*. In (21d), also part of Stage 2, a transitive A-FOC verb m-po-'epe *hear*, introduces a new participant (danci lowi *a lowi bird*). At this point, finally, the action of the discourse reaches the Developmental stage, Stage 3, in which both the Actor and the Object are OLD INFORMATION, and subsequent verbs are O-FOC (ra-pali' ... ra-hilo *they searched ... they saw*).

The verb form of (21d) is worthy of special comment. Since the form m-po-'epe *hear* is A-FOC, it does not have an ERGATIVE PERSON PREFIX to mark the Actor. Surprisingly, however, the Actor *is* marked on the verb by an ABSOLUTIVE PERSON ENCLITIC: m-po-'epe-ra *THEY heard*. This enclitic -ra is NOT marking the Object, as one normally expects on a transitive verb, but the Actor. This is an ANTIPASSIVE construction, to use ergative terminology, in which the transitive subject has been 'demoted' from the ERGATIVE form and position (prefix) and is encoded as an ABSOLUTIVE (enclitic). Another example of this is (22).

(22) m-po-hilo-i romeha' sakaea
AF-T-*see-he two boat*
He saw two boats.

The verb form in (22) is also ANTIPASSIVE. It is A-FOC, and the Actor is marked by the enclitic -i. The primary function of this seldom-occurring construction in Uma is in Stage 2 of (20), i.e. to INTRODUCE another participant or prop into the setting of the narrative.

In Uma narrative discourse, then, NEW INFORMATION is typically introduced via verb forms that are non-O-FOC (i.e. intransitive or A-FOC). Once the NEW INFORMATION becomes OLD, the story is then developed via O-FOC verb forms. Nor is this pattern true only at the beginning of a narrative. Even after Stage 3 is reached, a switch back to Stage 2 may be triggered by the entrance of a new element into the scene, as the following excerpt illustrates.

(23)a. na-rata akala-na,
he(OF)-*obtain plan-his*
He arrived at his plan:

b. lou-mi ng-ala' wua' lode' to taha' ...
go-PERF AF-*gather fruit lode'* REL *ripe*
he went and gathered some ripe lode' fruit ...

c. na-puna' hi rala nganga-na
he(OF)-*put inside mouth-his*
he put (it) into his mouth,

d. na-liomi
he(OF)-*chew*
and he chewed (it).

We pick up this narrative already in Stage 3 with the O-FOC verb in (23a), na-rata *he obtained/arrived at.* In (23b), however, a NEW element enters the scene, wua' lode' *lode' fruit.* This NEW Object triggers a switch back to Stage 2, and the verb form in (23b) is appropriately A-FOC, ng-ala' *gather.* After the lode' fruit is introduced and becomes OLD INFORMATION, the discourse reverts once more to Stage 3 in (23c) and (d), in which the verbs are once again O-FOC (na-puna' ... na-liomi *he put ... he chewed*).

In the examples so far, a noun becomes OLD INFORMATION only after explicit previous mention. Previous mention, however, is not the only factor that distinguishes NEW and OLD. Sometimes O-FOC verbs occur even though the O has never been mentioned before. This is because the O is PRESUPPOSED by the CULTURAL CONTEXT, and is therefore considered OLD information by the speaker and hearer(s) who share this cultural context. The following sentences illustrate the pattern.

(24) rala-na hangkani, lou wo'o-i-mi mo-peka. na-'ala'-mi
in-its one.time go also-he-PERF VBLSR-*fishing he*(OF)-*take*-PERF

doa peka-na ...
fishing pole-his
One time he went fishing. He took his fishing pole ...

(25) ria hadua kabilasa m-po-babehi wuhu'-na. na-babehi tumola-na ngkai
is one youth AF-T-*make pond-his he*(OF)-*make tunnel-its from*

wanga.
bark
There was a young man who made a pond. He made its drainage tunnels from wanga bark.

(26) na-'ona'-mi witi'-na turu
he(OF)-*stretch*-PERF *legs-his lie*
He stretched out his legs while lying there.

In examples (24) and (25), O-FOC verb forms are used, not because of previous mention, but because the Os are PRESUPPOSED within the culturally defined 'script' of the situation in the story. If one goes mo-peka *fishing*, there must be a doa peka *fishing pole.* If one makes a wuhu' *pond*, there are assumed to be tumola-na *its drainage tunnels.* In (26), the man's legs are not previously mentioned, but can be safely assumed to be present and involved, since the verb root ona' *to stretch* usually implies an arm or leg in such contexts.

3.2 Definiteness vs. indefiniteness

Closely related to the matter of OLD and NEW INFORMATION is the matter of DEFINITENESS. Definite nouns are typically those that have been previously mentioned or otherwise presupposed.

One of the high transitivity features listed by Hopper and Thompson (1980) is INDIVIDUATION OF O. Definite Os tend to be more totally affected by the action of the verb than do indefinite Os. In accord with this, it is the Uma O-FOC verb form, being the highly transitive construction, that is typically used to encode DEFINITE Os; while INDEFINITE Os co-occur with A-FOC forms.

Often an indefinite O is incorporated into the verb in Uma, producing a clause type that seems more intransitive than transitive. The verb is A-FOC, and the subject is encoded as a postverbal enclitic (the form used for the subject of *intransitive* verbs). The object is incorporated into the verb, between the verb word and the enclitic subject marker. For most kinds of verbs, the po- transitivising prefix is deleted, a sign of reduced transitivity. All this correlates with the semantic interpretation of INDEFINITE O. The following sentences illustrate O-incorporation.

(27) ng-koni' loka'-a
AF-*eat* *banana-I*
I'm eating bananas.

(28) napa pai' ng-kolo kaju-ko
what reason AF-*carry* *wood-you*
Why are you carrying wood?

(29) mo-manyu pae-i
VBLSR-*pound* *rice-she*
She's pounding rice.

Thus in (27), for example, the indefinite object loka' *bananas* has been incorporated inside the person marker -a *I*, directly after the verb word koni' *eat*. This reinterpretation of loka' as part of the verb is reflected in the fact that it now receives the verb's main phonological stress: ng-koni' lóka'-a. Thus the clause no longer has a 'real' direct object, but only an indefinite 'pseudo-object'. This reduced transitivity is further enhanced by the fact that, as seen in (27) and (28), the verb is prefixed only with the N- (A-FOC marker), and po- (transitiviser) fails to appear. Most verbs are of this form in O-incorporation constructions, and some verbs, for example (29), even take an *intransitive* prefix mo-.

Another way to encode an INDEFINITE O is by the ANTIPASSIVE construction discussed in 3.1 above. Example (22) is repeated here.

(30) m-po-hilo-i romeha' sakaea
AF-T-*see-he* *two* *boat*
He saw two boats.

The ANTIPASSIVE is similar to the O-incorporation construction discussed in the preceding paragraph, in that the transitive subject is encoded as a postverbal clitic (in this case -i *he*); but with the ANTIPASSIVE, the O is still an independent clause constituent. The ANTIPASSIVE, you will remember, is primarily used to introduce a new participant or prop into a narrative. The form of the verb shows characteristics of reduced transitivity (A-FOC, subject encoded as an ABSOLUTIVE ENCLITIC), and this correlates with a semantic interpretation of the O (romeha' sakaea *two boats*) as REFERENTIAL but INDEFINITE.

In contrast to the A-FOC examples in (27) through (30), the O-FOC is the preferred verb form when the O is DEFINITE, for example:

(31) na-manyu tobine-na pae toe
she(OF)-*pound wife-his rice that*
His wife pounded the rice.

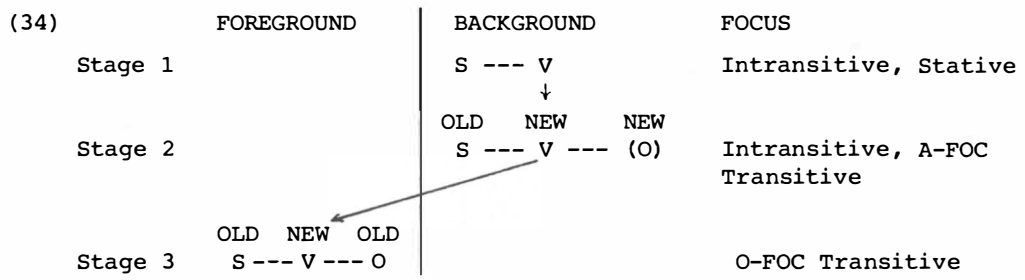
(32) Silobo na-jole' wo'o-mi hawo bola'-na
Silobo he(OF)-*shove also*-PERF - *lumber-his*
Silobo also shoved his lumber (downhill).

(33) ku-sepa-mo-ko
I(OF)-*kick*-PERF-*you*
I'll kick you!

In (31), some particular collection of rice (pae toe *that rice*) is under discussion. This is in contrast to (29), in which just the activity of 'rice-pounding' is referred to, but not some particular collection of rice. In (32) and (33) as well, DEFINITE Os are in view (bola'-na *his lumber* and -ko *you*, both previously mentioned OLD INFORMATION). All three of these DEFINITE expressions take O-FOC verb forms.

3.3 Correlation of O-FOC and FOREGROUNDING

In narrative discourse, certain events can be labelled BACKGROUND, i.e. they do not advance the story line, but provide detail, commentary, description, etc. Other events are FOREGROUND (or main events, or event line), i.e. the main, chronological actions that advance the story (cf. Grimes 1971). In Uma, there is a correlation between O-FOC verb forms and FOREGROUND, as the following diagram helps to illustrate.



Here the same three stages diagrammed in (20) are seen in light of FOREGROUND and BACKGROUND. Stage 1 and 2 are typically Background; it is in these stages that participants are introduced and the setting unfolds. Stage 3, however, in which the participants are OLD INFORMATION and the action begins to develop, is typically FOREGROUND. Thus transitive verbs tend to be A-FOC in BACKGROUND, and O-FOC in FOREGROUND.

In reality the situation is far more complex, of course. Foregrounded events can also be intransitive sorts of happenings (e.g. going, arriving, sleeping). But a statistical count in Uma texts reveals the generalisation that when a *transitive* verb is in Foreground, it is usually O-FOC, as the following excerpt illustrates.

(35) na-'ala'-i-mi pai' na-puna' rala gonga, na-keni hilou hi
he(OF)-*take-him*-PERF *and he*(OF)-*put in gourd he*(OF)-*carry go to*

Liku Pagoo. ka-rata-na hi Liku Pagoo, na-bahaka-i-mi.
Liku Pagoo DEP-*arrive-his at Liku Pagoo he*(OF)-*free-him*-PERF
He took it and put (it) in a gourd, and he carried (it) to Liku Pagoo.
Upon his arrival at Liku Pagoo, he freed it.

This is taken from a narrative about a boy and his pet caterpillar. The participants have already been introduced, hence the use of only the pronominal affixation to identify them: na- *he* (the boy), and -i *it* (the caterpillar). The action is developing (stage 3). The consistent use of O-FOC verbs is typical for FOREGROUNDED, MAIN EVENTS, thus: na-'ala' *he took*, na-puna' *he put*, na-keni *he carried*, na-bahaka *he freed.* In this example, only the dependent, BACKGROUNDED clause, ka-rata-na ... *upon his arrival* ... is not O-FOC. Consider also the following example (partially the same as (23) earlier).

(36)a. lou-mi ng-ala' wua' lode' to taha' ...
go-PERF AF-*gather fruit lode'* REL *ripe*
(He) went to gather some ripe lode' fruit ...

b. na-puna' hi rala nganga-na.
he(OF)-*put inside mouth-his*
He put (it) in his mouth.

c. na-liomi.
he(OF)*chew*
He chewed (it).

d. nyau-nyau moni kebe' m-po-liomi wua' lode'.
munch-munch sound goat AF-T-*chew fruit lode'*
Munch munch went the goat, chewing the lode' fruit.

The main participant, kebe' *the goat*, is the Actor throughout this episode. In (36a), the wua' lode' *lode' fruit*, is introduced using the A-FOC form ng-ala' *take, gather.* After this, the story develops with the two O-FOC forms in (36b) and (c): na-puna' ... na-liomi *he put ... he chewed.* The last clause, however, (36d), is not a main event, but a BACKGROUNDED descriptive comment, and the verb form used, m-po-liomi, is appropriately A-FOC.

O-FOC forms, then, tend to be FOREGROUND, because the main events of a narrative are typically the interaction of one participant with some known or presupposed other participant or object. Hopper and Thompson (1980:291) note that FOREGROUNDED events typically have DEFINITE Os.

Non-O-FOC forms, in contrast to O-FOC, are a way of encoding BACKGROUND information, as in (36d) above and in the following excerpt.

(37)a. hangkani loga mo-dao'-mi Sulao'.
one time VBLSR-*stroll*-PERF *Sulao'*
One time, the Sulao' went strolling.

b. n-campei baju-na to bula wuroko'-na,
AF-*put.on shirt-his* REL *white neck-its*
He put on his shirt with the white neck,

c. m-paha'a tampi,
AF-*carry spear*
and shouldering his spear,

d. pai' mo-sigai,
and VBLSR-*turban*
and wearing a turban,

e. hilou m-po-tara Pune'.
go AF-T-*pass.by Pune'*
he went by where the Pune' lived.

The FOREGROUNDED event in (37) is mo-dao'-mi *went strolling*, in this case an intransitive verb with the perfective -mi. In the four subsequent lines (b, c, d, and e), the storyteller is giving BACKGROUND, adding details and local colour, describing the manner in which the Sulao' went strolling. The verbs used are, as a consequence, A-FOC (n-campei *put on*, m-paha'a *carry*, m-po-tara *pass by*) or intransitive (mo-sigai *wear a turban*).

3.4 Perfectivity

So far we have seen that O-FOC forms, being a high transitivity construction, encode definite Os and tend to be FOREGROUND in narrative discourse. Another transitivity feature that correlates with the A-FOC vs. O-FOC distinction is ASPECT. Hopper and Thompson (1980) note that telic and perfective aspect correlates with HIGH TRANSITIVITY, and that atelic or non-perfective correlates with LOW TRANSITIVITY. In accord with this, the Uma focus forms exhibit the following pattern:

(38)

FOCUS	ASPECT
O-FOC (High Trans)	PERFECTIVE (BOUNDED)
A-FOC (Low Trans)	NON-PERFECTIVE (UNBOUNDED)

That is, there is a *tendency* for O-FOC verbs to occur with a PERFECTIVE interpretation. A-FOC verb forms, on the other hand, tend to be NON-PERFECTIVE in meaning. Consider the following examples.

(39)a. mo-manyu pae-i
VBLSR-*pound rice-she*
She is pounding rice.

b. na-manyu tobine-na pae toe
she(OF)-*pound wife-his rice that*
His wife pounded the rice.

(40)a. ra-'uli', "Lou m-po-'oli bengka-kai
they(OF)-*say, go* AF-T-*buy buffalo-we*(excl.)
They said, 'We're going buffalo-buying.'

b. ra-'oli-mi bahangkuja ma'a, pai'-ra nculi'.
they(OF)-*buy*-PERF *several animals and-they return*
They bought several head, and then they returned.

Examples (39a) and (b) are the same as (29) and (31) earlier, used in discussing definite vs. indefinite Os. Not only does the O-FOC form in (39b) encode a DEFINITE O, pae toe *that rice*, but it also encodes a more 'bounded' or well-defined event aspectually than does the non-O-FOC form in (39a). (39b) is the form for narrating a past-tense, perfective event. (39a), on the other hand, is usually used for a present tense on-going event; it is an appropriate answer to the question, 'What is she doing?'.

Similarly, the event referred to by (40a), m-po-'oli bengka *buffalo-buying*, is aspectually less bounded. The event in (40b), however, ra-'oli-mi *they bought (several head)*, is clearly *bounded* and *perfective*.

One of the few explicit aspect markers in Uma is the -mi PERFECTIVE enclitic that appears in (40b) above. In accord with the correlation expectations shown in (38) above, -mi PERFECTIVE turns up *frequently* with *O-FOC* verb forms (and with intransitive verbs), but *very seldom* with A-FOC verb forms. For example:

(41)a. *?mo-manyu pae-i-mi
VBLSR-*pound rice-she*-PERF
*?*She rice-pounded.*

b. na-manyu-mi tobine-na pae toe
she(OF)-*pound*-PERF *wife-his rice that*
His wife pounded the rice.

The forms in (41) are identical to (39), but with a -mi PERFECTIVE added. The -mi PERFECTIVE is incorrect or at least awkward in (41a), because it is incompatible with the typically non-perfective meaning encoded by this non-O-FOC verb form. In (41b), however, the -mi is acceptable.

4. TEXT AND COMMENTARY

The narrative text 'Cutting Ata' Leaves' has been chosen as a short, typical narrative in Uma. In both the free English translation and the Uma text, FOREGROUNDED events, i.e. events that are clearly the main events of the narrative, are to the left. BACKGROUNDED events are to the right. O-FOC verb forms are CAPITALISED. Non-capitalised verbs are either A-FOC or intransitive.

Of the 22 clauses identified as FOREGROUND in the narrative, 10 contain O-FOC verbs. Of the 33 BACKGROUNDED clauses, only three are O-FOC.[4] Of the three O-FOC verbs in the BACKGROUND, two of them (Lines 15 and 18) are in dependent clauses and are clearly backgrounded. The third, Line 20, is the result of a forefronted, topicalised O: 'This rattan, we will use it later ...'. This is clearly not a main event, but a simple comment, "collatoral" in Grimes' (1971) terms.

Lines 13 and 14 are unusual cases. In actuality, the two events described there are logically central to the story: 'My wife folded ata', and I cleared off a place to dry them'. But the storyteller has forefronted the Actors of both clauses, and in the process has used A-FOC verb forms: m-pekawahii *clear off* is A-FOC, and mo-lati' ata' *fold ata' leaves* is an O-incorporation construction, based on the transitive root lati' *fold*, but with an intransitive prefix, similar to (29). It appears that the storyteller has encoded these, not as main events but as BACKGROUND events for *stylistic purposes*. That is, the deliberate mis-matching of syntactic and conceptual prominence becomes art. In this Uma is not unique. Alternatively, Lines 13 and 14 can be viewed as *specifying* the

main event verb of Line 12: 'We began to work: *specifically*, my wife folded ata', and I cleared ...'.

Line 36 is a subordinate clause containing the verb m-peruii *dethorn*. The A-FOC marker m- is attached to the derived stem pe-rui-i (the noun root rui *thorn* with the affixes pe- -i, a sort of locative focus stem). In the actual text, this verb is A-FOC, perhaps to mark its BACKGROUNDED status. Native Uma speakers report, however, that the O-FOC form (the parenthetical na-peruii) could also have been used, since the topic of the subsequent clauses (Lines 37 and 38) is the ata' leaves.

In Line 46, the pa- prefix instead of the expected ma- verbaliser (cf. Line 6) has created a nominalised form of the verb. This is a common device in Uma narrative to mark the denouement or 'wind down' of a story. A freer English translation is, 'And so it was about 4:00 when our descent back home began.'

'Cutting ata' leaves' (free English translation)

1. Earlier this morning, our plan was to go cut ata' leaves at Mehi'.
2. at 7:00 am,
3. we left,
4. carrying our food,
5. carrying palm wine slung over our shoulders
6. descending to Kompu ...
7. ascending to Lopo',
8. and continuing on to Mehi' Mountain.

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9. Upon arriving at Mehi Mountain,
10. we prayed.
11. After we had prayed,
12. WE BEGAN to work:
13. My wife folded ata' leaves,
14. and I cleared off a place
15. WE COULD DRY the ata' leaves on.
16. After I had cleared off a place for the ata',
17. I DRIED the ata'
18. that WAS ALREADY FOLDED.
19. and went to gather rattan.
20. This rattan WE WILL USE later
21. to tie up our garden house.
22. Upon my return from gathering rattan,
23. WE SAID,
24. "Let's eat,
25. because it's already midday!"
26. WE TOOK our food,
27. We prayed,
28. and we ate.
29. After eating,
30. I SAID,
31. "Let's go again
32. and cut some new ata' leaves."
33. We went up into the jungle.
34. I did the cutting,
35. my wife did the dethorning.

36. After dethorning (After SHE HAD DETHORNED it)
37. then SHE BUNCHED UP (the leaves)
38. and CARRIED (them) back to our drying spot.
39. I went back
40. to cut ata',
41. and I CARRIED (it)
42. arriving at our drying place.
43. WE FOLDED (the leaves)
44. till it was all done.

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45. When it was about 4:00 this evening,
46. we descended on our way home,
47. arriving at Wurumu'.
48. WE CUT UP our rattan.
49. The sun was getting low.
50. We climbed uphill
51. and got to the top here at our house,
52. arriving at this spot.
53. My wife started cooking,
54. and I went to fetch palm wine.
55. That's all.

'Cutting ata' leaves' (Uma text)

FOREGROUND (MAIN EVENTS)	BACKGROUND
	1. mepulo ngone, hawa'-kai lou-kai *morning early plan-our*(excl.) *go-we*(excl.) n-time ata' hi Mehi'. AF-*cut ata' at Mehi'*
	2. tinti pitu-mi *strike seven*-PERF
3. me-'ongko'-ma-kai hilou VBLSR-*leave*-PERF-*we*(excl.) *go*	
	4. m-po-'uba' koni'-kai AF-T-*carry food-our*(excl.)
	5. m-po-hariri baru AF-T-*carry palm.wine*
	6. ma-na'u hi Kompu ... VBLSR-*descend to Kompu*
	7. ma-nake' hi Lopo' VBLSR-*ascend to Lopo'*
	8. kaliliu hi Bulu' Mehi'. *continue to Bulu' Mehi'*
	---
	9. ka-rata-kai hi Bulu' Mehi' DEP-*arrive-our*(excl.) *at Bulu' Mehi'*
10. mo-sampaea-ma-kai. VBLSR-*pray*-PERF-*we*(excl.)	

11. oti mo-sampaea-kai
after VBLSR-*pray-we*(excl.)

12. ki-tepu'u-mi mo-bago.
we(excl.)(OF)-*begin*-PERF VBLSR-*work*

13. tobine-ku mo-lati' ata'
wife-my VBLSR-*fold ata'*

14. aku' m-pekawahii pontu'ua ata'
I AF-*clear.off place ata'*

15. ki-pompy'ai.
we(excl.)(OF)-*dry.on*

16. oti-a-ma m-pekawahii pontu'ua ata',
after-I-PERF AF-*clear.off place ata'*

17. ku-pu'ai-mi ata'
I(OF)-*dry*-PERF *ata'*

18. to oti ra-lati'
REL *finish* 3pl(OF)-*fold*

19. pai' hilou-a ng-ala' ui.
and go-I AF-*gather rattan*

20. ui tohe'e ki-pake' mpai'
rattan that we(excl.)(OF)-*use later*

21. m-po-kapu' tomi-kai hi bonea.
AF-T-*tie.up house-our*(excl.) *in garden*

22. ka-rata-ku ng-ala' ui,
DEP-*arrive-my* AF-*gather rattan*

23. ki-'uli'-mi
we(excl.)(OF)-*say*-PERF

24. ng-koni'-ta-mo,
AF-*eat-we*(incl.)-PERF

25. apa' tebua'-mi eona.
because top-PERF *sun*

26. ki-'ala'-mi koni'-kai
we(excl.)(OF)-*take*-PERF *food-our*(excl.)

27. mo-sampaea-ma-kai
VBLSR-*pray*-PERF-*we*(excl.)

28. pai' ng-koni'.
and AF-*eat*

29. oti ng-koni'
finish AF-*eat*

30. ku-'uli'-mi wo'o
I(OF)-*say*-PERF *also*

31. hilou-ta-mo wo'o
go-we(incl.)-PERF *also*

32. n-time ata' to bo'u.
AF-*cut ata'* REL *new*

33. ma-nake'-ma-kai hilou hi rala ponulu.
VBLSR-*ascend*-PERF-*we*(excl.) *go into jungle*

34. aku'-mi m-po-time,
I-PERF AF-T-*cut*

35. tobine-ku m-peruii.
wife-my AF-*dethorn*

36. oti m-peruii (oti na-peruii)
finish AF-*dethorn (finish she*(OF)-*dethorn)*

37. pai' na-lupi-mi
and she(OF)-*bunch*-PERF

38. pai' na-paha'a tumai hi pompu'aia-kai.
and she(OF)-*carry to.here to drying.place-our*(excl.)

39. aku' hilou nculii'
I go back

40. n-time ata'
AF-*cut ata'*

41. pai' ku-keni
and I(OF)-*carry*

42. rata hi pompu'aia-kai
arrive at drying.place-our(excl.)

43. ki-lati'-mi
we(excl.)(OF)-*fold*-PERF

44. duu'-na oti.
until-its finish

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45. ncimonou'-mi we'i, bo tinti opo'-mi
evening-PERF *earlier about strike four*-PERF

46. pa-na'u-kai-mi nculii' tumai
NOM-*descend-we*(excl.)-PERF *return to.here*

47. rata hi Wurumu'
arrive at Wurumu'

48. ki-pua'-mi ui-kai.
we(excl.)(OF)-*cut*-PERF *rattan-our*(excl.)

49. dingki'-mi eo
low-PERF *sun*

50. ma-nake'-ma-kai
VBLSR-*ascend*-PERF-*we*(excl.)

51. tebua'-ma-kai tumai hi tomi-kai
peaked-PERF-*we*(excl.) *here at house-our*(excl.)

52. rata hi rehe'i.
arrive at here

53. totina mo-ruhe-mi
woman VBLSR-*cook*-PERF

54. pai' aku' hilou mo-hari'-mi.
and I go VBLSR-*get.palm.wine*-PERF

55. rata rei.
arrive here

NOTES

[1]Chart 1 is adapted from Hopper and Thompson 1980:252.

[2]Uma (Pipikoro) is an Austronesian language spoken by about 20,000 people in western Central Sulawesi (Kulawi District). The author's research has been carried out in the central dialect in the village of Kantewu under the sponsorship of Hasanuddin University (Ujung Pandang), as part of the cooperative agreement between Indonesia's Department of Education and Culture and the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

[3]The mo- prefix has an allomorphic variant ma-. In addition to the simple type of intransitive verb represented in the chart above, there are numerous other kinds with other prefixation. For example: mome- 'reciprocal' (mome-tulungi *to help each other*), me- 'middle voice' (me'eka' *to be afraid*), mengka- 'deliberate action' (mengka-meke *to deliberately cough*), etc. Similar things could be said of the various types of transitive verbs.

[4]In a few instances it is difficult to decide if a given clause is FOREGROUND or BACKGROUND (e.g. lines 13 and 14). But the overall correlation of O-FOC with FOREGROUND is clear by any analysis.

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"HOW BIG IS YOUR RICE?" - UNITS OF MEASUREMENT AMONG THE UMA PEOPLE

Michael Martens

In the precontact days, before the introduction of metres and litres, the Uma[1] people of Central Sulawesi had a traditional system of measurement for length and volume. This system is still in use, though on the decline now. These measurements are based on body parts (e.g. a fingerlength, a cubit) or on everyday containers (a half coconut shell, a small basket).

When I requested that our language teacher write down some of these, my intention was to learn about length and volume. The first two sections of the chart below show the Uma units of length and volume respectively.

I was not expecting to learn about the other units of measurement that our teacher also freely supplied. The third and fourth sections of the chart describe the units of measurement of rice and corn growth - not what I would think of as 'units of measurement', but very much so in the mind of our teacher.

This is significant for two reasons. First, the centrality of these two crops to Uma agriculture is reflected in both the number of special terms used and also by the rich poetic imagery of the terms. For example, rice that is about 35cm. high could be described as 'half a cubit' or 'halfway up the knee'. But the Uma term is the more colourful 'wet shins' - the rice is tall enough to get your shins wet from dew.

Second, this whole episode is significant in that it exemplifies the value of using free and unguided elicitation procedures. If I had asked questions to gather information on units of measurement, I might not have found out about their system of crop measurements, or at least I would not have connected it with the topic of measurement as such. As it is, I got an insider's viewpoint on the topic.

The Uma terms and the Indonesian descriptions (columns 1 and 2) were authored by Mr Herman Rigo, from the village of Kantewu. The English explanation (rightmost column) I added. A breakdown of the morphemes is given whenever possible.

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THE NAMES OF MEASUREMENTS IN UMA (HANGA'-HANGA' HUKA' TOPO'UMA)

Section I: Measures of length (huka' langa)

1. UMA	2. INDONESIA	3. ENGLISH
ha-muku	seruas jari	(ha- *one* - and throughout this paper; wuku *bone*) from fingertip to first knuckle
ha-ncenga'	sepanjang jari	(root unknown) a finger-length
tentea' tuila	dari pertengahan tapak ke ujung jari	(tentea' *to shake lime out of container*?; tuila *lime*) from middle of palm, where lime is placed (for betelnut) to tip of middle finger
ha-mpalanta'	sebesar tapak tangan	(palanta' *palm*) the size of a palm
ha-mpaga	selabar tapak tangan	(paga *to grasp*) width of a palm
ha-nanga	sejengkal	basic meaning is *a span*, from middle finger to thumb
ha-mpale-hoa'	dari pergelangan tangan	(pale *hand*, hoa' unknown) from wrist to tip of middle finger
ha-mpo-wano-a	dari penyucian tangan	(wano *to wash hands*, po - a *the place of*) from part-way up the wrist (where one washes one's hands) to fingertips
ha-mpo-luba-a'	dari tempat gelang tangan	(luba' *bracelet*, po - a *place of*) from the place one wears a bracelet to fingertips
ha-nciku	satu hasta	(hiku *elbow*) a cubit
goli hiku		(goli *to turn, move*?, hiku *elbow*) from mid-bicep to fingertip, with elbow curved slightly; used to measure buffalo horns
ha-mali mpale	sepanjang tangan sebelah	(mali *side, half*, pale *arm*) an armlength
bika' mpona	dari ujung tangan sebelah sampai pertengahan dada	(bika' *to split*, pona *breast-bone*) from mid-chest to fingertip
ha-mpata' hodi'	dari ujung jari sebelah sampai siku tangan sebelah	(pata' *to strike*, hodi' *type of mousetrap*?) from fingertip to elbow of opposite arm; the elbow is bent like a hodi' snare
ha-nopo	satu depa	(dopo *a span*) one span (from fingertip to fingertip)
ha-ngkupuia	satu pemeluk	(kupui *to hug*) one embrace, a circumference as big as can be encircled by arms; used to measure tree trunks.

Section II: Measures of size/amount (huka' kabohe/kawori')

1. UMA	2. INDONESIA	3. ENGLISH
ha-mpinyu'	sesuatu dapat dipegang oleh ibu jari dan telunjuk	(pinyu' *to pick up with two fingers*) one pinch
ha-ngkaku'	segenggam (beras)	(kaku' *to take a handful*) one fistful (of rice)
ha-ngkamu-a	segenggam (bahan yang panjang)	(kamu *to hold*, -a 'nominaliser) as many long objects (e.g. beans) as can be held in the hand
ha-nyongku'		(hongku' *to take with cupped hands*) amount filling both hands cupped together
ha-manga'	sebanyak isi satu tempurung	(banga' *coconut shell*) one half coconut shell full
ha-mingka'	sebanyak isi bakul kecil	(bingka' *a small, square basket*) one bingka' full
ha-rota	sebanyak isi satu bakul sedang	(rota *rice harvest basket*) one rota full
ha-wara	sebanyak isi satu nyiru	(wara *winnowing tray*) one winnowing tray full
ha-luncu	sebanyak isi satu bakul besar	(luncu *a large basket*) one luncu full
ha-boba	sebanyak isi satu tempat pikul barang	(boba *back-carrying basket*) one boba full

Section III: Measurement of the size of field rice (huka' kalangko pae)

wulu onge	kelihatannya bulu hidung	(wulu *hair*, onge *nose*) the seedlings protrude from the dibble-stick holes like hairs
mo-tawala'	daunnya seperti mata tombak	(mo- 'intransitive', tawala' *broad spear head*) the leaves curve like a spear head
iku rone	sebesar ekor burung pipit	(iku *tail*, rone *type of small bird*) as big as a rone bird tail
ntilu' lowu'	ujung daunnya turun ke lubang	(tilu' *to turn down*, lowu' *dibble-stick*) the leaves begin to turn down toward hole left by dibble-stick
sii' ngkumulu'	setinggi ruas kaki	(sii' *wet*, kumulu' *shin*) tall enough to get your shins wet with dew in the morning
morau bohe	setengah umur	(rau *leaf*, bohe *big*) big-leaved; half-grown
mo-rau mpo-kula'	daunnya menyerupai jahe	(mo-, rau see above, mpo- *like, as*, kula' *ginger*) as big as ginger leaves

1. UMA	2. INDONESIA	3. ENGLISH
bohu mane	sebesar perut laki-laki	(bohu *full*, mane *male*) the leaves curve like the stomach of a full man
bunti'	bunting/hamil	(bunti' *pregnant*) just beginning to have fruit
huwu	buah mulai keluar	(huwu *to appear*) the grains begin to appear
dagi ntunuju'	tidak dapat dihitung; kalau ditunjuk dengan jari	(dagi *to defeat*, tunuju' *index finger*) you can't count all the grain by pointing
tungka' ha-lapi	sebahagian bulir-bulir-nya sudah tunduk	(tungka' *to bow*, ha- *one*, lapi *layer*) just patches here and there have started to bend down
woku	buah (isi) sudah penuh	(woku *tender, softish*) the heads of grain are full, but still a bit soft
mperenene	sudah menguning	(*gleaming*) beginning to turn yellow

Section IV: Measurement of corn from planting to harvest (huka goa' ngkai lomo' ratuja' duu'na rahore)

nyuba'	mulai keluar dari lubang	(basic meaning unknown) just sprouting out of hole
pani' nyoko	daunnya selebar sayup belalang sentadu	(pani' *wings*, nyoko *praying mantis*) leaves as wide as praying mantis wings
ha-mpo-wunga-a	sebesar bunga yang biasa dipakai wanita	(wunga *flower*, po - a *place of*) as big as a bouquet of flowers tucked in a woman's waistband
ha-mpo-mesaku-a ana'	setinggi kalau anak-anak main tikam	(po - a *place of*, mesaku *to throw a spear*, ana' *child*) as tall as a child's spear throw
ha-mpo-mesaku-a totu'a	setinggi kalau orang dewasa main tikam	(see above, totu'a *adult*) as tall as an adult's spear throw
mpio	bunga sarinya mulai digulung daunnya	(pio *to twist, spin*) the pollen flowers appear, still enfolded by leaves
mpue sehe	bunga mulai keluar	(mpue ?, sehe *bud*) the bud begins to unroll
mpehiri'	buah jagung mulai kentara di batang	(pehiri' *to stick an object into one's belt, waistband*) the corn ears begin to bulge out on the stalk
tonu' ntoko'o	buah jagung sudah kelihatan	(tonu' *horn, antler*, ntoko'o *dwarf buffalo*) the ears of corn stick out, like horns of this animal

1. UMA	2. INDONESIA	3. ENGLISH
sehe maku'	bunga (rambut) jagung kemerah-merahan seperti bunga jambu air	(sehe *bud*, maku' *Malay rose apple*) the colour of the cornsilk is reddish like the bud of this fruit
mata lari	isi jagung rupanya seperti mata belalang	(mata *eye*, lari *grasshopper*) the grains are the size of grasshopper eyes
onto-a' sisi	isi jagung masih mudah, sangat digemari kuching	(onto' *to eat raw*, -a 'nominaliser', sisi *cat*) the grain is very soft; cats like to eat it raw
rori-a mo-ue		(rori *to grate*, -a 'nominaliser', mo- 'intransitive', ue *water*) if the corn is grated, there is juice
rori-a bake'		(bake' *dried up*) if the corn is grated, there is no real juice, just sludge
mo-ihi-mi	sudah penuh isinya	(mo- 'intransitive', ihi *contents*, -mi 'completive aspect') the grains are full-sized
kuluma bungki	kulitnya kemerah-merahan seperti kepiting	(kuluma *skin*, bungki *crab*) the husk becomes reddish like the colour of a crab's shell
bangi	sudah kering	(bangi *dry*) dry
ra-hore	sudah diambil dan disimpan dalam lubung	(ra- 'object focus', hore *gather*) ready to be gathered into storehouses
ra-hoda hi paruncu	tempat penggantungan	(ra- 'object focus', hoda *to hang on pegs*, hi *in, at*, paruncu *drying rack*) hung on a rack to dry fully

NOTE

[1]The Uma (Pipikoro) language is an Austronesian language (West Toraja family) spoken by about 15,000 people in western Central Sulawesi (southern Kulawi district) of Indonesia. The author's research was carried out in the central village of Kantewu (1°45'S, 119°55'E).

FOCUS OR ERGATIVITY?
PRONOUN SETS IN UMA

Michael Martens

1. INTRODUCTION[1]

Mention Philippine languages, and linguists immediately think of focus. All Philippine languages have focus grammar, and it affects much of their morphology and syntax. Noun phrases in Philippine languages have in- or out-of-focus markers, also called topic or non-topic markers. Verbs typically have affixes to indicate the case role of the focused noun phrase. Philippine languages all have multiple sets of pronouns that work within this focus system.

Synchronic linguists seldom talk about Philippine languages in terms of ergative vs. accusative. An accusative language, like English, marks the subject of all clauses the same, whether transitive or intransitive (nominative case), but marks the object of a transitive verb differently (accusative case), for instance: 'He walks' and 'He hit him', where both subjects are 'he' but the object is 'him'. An ergative language, on the other hand, marks the subject of an intransitive verb and the object of a transitive verb the same (called absolutive case), and the subject of a transitive verb is marked differently (ergative case). Were English ergative, we would say 'HIM walks' and 'He hit HIM' - or perhaps 'He walks' and 'He hit by-him', minus the passive connotation such a construction has in real English.[2]

At first this doesn't seem to have too much bearing on Philippine languages. Linguists have trouble deciding just what a 'subject' is in the first place in these languages (see Schachter 1976). Is it the actor? the topic? or do Philippine languages even have subjects?

The purpose of this paper is to describe how in Uma, an Austronesian language of Sulawesi, the pronoun sets can be interpreted as an ergative system. From there, I also want to show that pronoun sets in Philippine languages also possess an obscure but potential ergative system.

2. PRONOUN SETS

One key area involved in the grammar of focus is pronoun sets. Philippine languages all have more than one set of pronouns. A typical Philippine language has:

(a) a set of *topic* pronouns. These are usually short enclitic forms. They are used when the pronoun is the topic of the clause (in focus).

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(b) a set of *non-topic actor* pronouns that also function as possessive pronouns on noun phrases. On verbs, these pronouns mark the actor of the verb when the verb is not actor-focus.

(c) a set of *independent*, free-standing pronouns, used for emphasis, objects of prepositions, etc. These are usually longer forms of the topic pronouns.

(d) perhaps a set of *oblique* pronouns, a type of 'garbage basket' set that marks non-topics that are also non-actors.

2.1 Western Bukidnon Manobo

I have picked Western Bukidnon Manobo (WBM), a language of Mindanao, to illustrate what the pronouns of a 'typical' Philippine language are like. One of my reasons for choosing WBM is that it is a relatively unknown minor language of the Philippines, yet one which is well researched. Another reason for my choice is that WBM is geographically close to Sulawesi, though this does not necessarily imply that Uma is linguistically any closer to WBM than it is to any other Philippine language.

If one combines the full topic forms and the emphatic forms, WBM has four sets of pronouns. (All examples are from Elkins 1970, 1971, 1974.)

WBM pronoun sets

	1. TOPIC		2. NON-TOPIC		3. KI-(OBLIQUE)		4. EMPHATIC	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
1	a	key	ku	dey	kedi'/kedi'ey	kenami	si'ak	sikami
2	ka	kew	nu	niyu	kenikew	keniyu	sikew	sikiyu
3	Ø	dan	din	dan	kandin	kandan	sikandin	sikandan
1+2	ki	kiyu	ta	tew	kenita	kenitew	sikita	sikitew

The *topic pronouns* are clitics; they mark the topic of a clause, that is, the actor in actor-focus, object in object-focus, etc. The *non-topic pronouns* mark the actor of any clause that is not actor-focus. The *oblique pronouns*, from what Elkins' examples show, mark non-topic clause participants such as object or indirect object of an actor-focus clause.[3] The *emphatic pronouns* are just that, pronouns used in emphatic position; they are longer forms of the topic pronouns.

From now on let us concentrate on the first two pronoun sets. Elkins describes four focus categories in WBM: subject focus, which for the purpose of consistency we will here call actor focus (AF); direction-focus (DF), instrument-focus (IF), and object-focus (OF). Notice how the first two pronoun sets are used in these four focus types. (Pronouns are in ALL CAPS and marked TOPic or Non-Topic in gloss.) For simplicity, verbal morphemes not pertinent to the discussion have not been glossed.

(1) AF: miD-pen-pe-zigu' A
bathe,AF *I*(TOP)
I bathe myself.

(2) DF: miD-uwit-an KIYU ZIN en te gasa
brought, DF *I+you*(TOP) *he*(NT) compl NT *gift*
He brought us a gift.

(3) IF: i-D-pesiyu KEY ZIN pezem diye' te tiyenggiyan
take.walk,IF *we*(TOP) *he*(NT) opt *there* NT,com *market*
He would like to take us for a walk now in the market.

(4) OF: N-e-'ehe'-Ø KEY ZIN en ma'an gevi'i diya' te Pangi
saw,OF *us*(TOP) *he*(NT) compl repet *yesterday there* NT,com *Pangi*
He saw us again yesterday at Pangi.

(The pronoun zin in examples (2), (3), and (4) is the 3s NT form din that has undergone a phonemic change.) Note that the three non-actor-focus clause types are very similar to each other. The topic, whether it be the D, I, or O, appears as a topic pronoun (Set 1), and the actor appears as a non-topic pronoun (Set 2). The AF clause (example (1)), however, is different; it has only a Set 1 pronoun because it is intransitive. As a matter of fact, almost all of the AF clauses in Elkins' data are intransitive. Here are some more AF examples.

(5) N-eN-kayu KEY ge'ina
get.wood,AF *we*(TOP) *while.ago*
We went for firewood a while ago.

(6) eD-peke-'uli' A gunta'an
must.go-home,AF *I*(TOP) *today*
I must go home today.

(7) ne miD-pena'ug ne mig-kuwa Ø dutun te selu'al
so descend,AF *and* P-*got*,AF *he*(TOP) *there* NT,com *trousers*
So he climbed down and took from there some trousers.

(8) ... su eD-peki-tawang A KENIKEW
because NonP-AS-*help*,AF *I*(TOP) *you*(OBLIQUE)
... *because I am requesting you to help me.*

Examples (5) and (6) are again intransitive and therefore can only be AF. Example (7) has two AF verbs, the first is intransitive and the second transitive. But note that the object of the AF transitive verb is translated as non-definite - not 'THE trousers' but 'SOME trousers'. Example (8) contains a transitive AF verb that uses the requestive prefix peki- (Elkins calls it 'associative'), which, according to the rules of WBM grammar, can *only be AF*.[4] Thus it seems from the data that the AF form of the verb in WBM is only used in clauses in which the transitivity has somehow been mitigated, that is, the direct object is indefinite, or the clause is intransitive, or the verb form is a frozen form.

In summary, *if* we set aside AF transitive verbs for the moment as a bit suspicious, and *if* we lump together the three non-actor cases (object, instrument and direction) and informally call them the 'goal' of the verb, *then* the topic pronouns can be said to mark the SUBJECT ('actor') of an intransitive verb and the GOAL of a transitive verb. Non-topic pronouns, by definition, mark the ACTOR of a transitive verb. To summarise:

Topic Pronoun = Subject of Intransitive
Goal of Transitive

Non-topic Pronoun = Actor of Transitive

2.2 Subject in Philippine languages

So far I have mainly used terms like topic, actor and goal and avoided the use of the term subject, except in the case of intransitive clauses where there is no dispute about what is the subject. I have done this because there is no small debate about just what 'subject' is in Philippine languages. For example, looking at the OF WBM example,

(9) N-e-'ehe'-Ø KEY ZIN ...
saw,OF *us*(TOP) *he*(NT)
He saw us .../We were seen by him ...

some linguists assert that in such non-actor-focus clauses the TOPIC is the subject: 'WE were seen by him'. This view treats the focus system as a kind of voice system. In other words, actor-focus is active voice since the actor is the subject, but any other kind of focus is a kind of passive voice, since some other nominal in the clause has displaced the actor as subject. The original subject, the actor, has now become a chomeur, to use a convenient Relational Grammar term; it has been kicked out of its subject position, like the 'by him' of the English translation above.[5]

Other linguists disagree with this interpretation. 'Passive' in our Indo-European tradition connotes an unusual or marked construction; but in Philippine languages the non-actor focus constructions are the more natural constructions, and as Bloomfield noted, the actor-focus construction is the one that is avoided if possible.[6] If we say that the topic is the subject of the sentence and therefore non-actor-focus sentences are passive, this would mean that speakers of Philippine languages are talking backwards most of the time. Furthermore, in English passives the actor is de-emphasised, off at the fringe of the clause as a prepositional phrase, if not omitted entirely; whereas in non-actor-focus constructions in Philippine languages, the actor is typically an integral part of the clause and is close to the verb.

Another option is to assume that the actor is the subject, regardless of the focus. In this view the object or location or whatever may be singled out as 'in focus', due to its being definite, old information, previously mentioned, etc., BUT the actor is still the subject. Thus example (9) would be translated 'He saw us'.

A third option is to assume that our English definition of subject does not apply to Philippine languages. This view can take a radical stance: Philippine languages do not have subjects. Or it can take a more moderate stance: some properties of subjecthood apply to the topic, others apply to the actor. This is my view of the whole matter. The topic is the subject in that it is the 'syntactic pivot' of the clause, to borrow a phrase from Dixon (1979). The actor is subject in that it is the most semantically potent nominal in the clause.[7]

If we assume for the moment the first viewpoint, that the topic is the subject, then Philippine languages technically must be labelled as accusative languages: by definition, topic pronouns always encode subjects, therefore all subjects are encoded the same way. But if we assume the second viewpoint, that the actor is the subject, then Philippine languages are close to being ergative. Consider again the summary of WBM topic and non-topic pronouns:

Topic Pronoun = Subject of Intransitive = ABSOLUTIVE
Goal of Transitive

Non-Topic Pronoun = Subject of Transitive = ERGATIVE

The amazing thing is that Starosta et al. 1982 reconstruct Proto-Austronesian as being "a verb initial *mixed ergative* language ..., the ergative Agent and possessors both marked by the same Genitive case forms" (emphasis mine). So the obscure ergative system that we have found lurking in the focus and non-focus pronoun sets of WBM may actually be the remains of what once was an ergative system in Proto-Austronesian.

This ergative system is far from apparent in present-day Philippine languages. In order to dredge up this ergative alignment of WBM pronouns, we have had to ignore actor-focus transitive clauses, lump all the non-actor-focus categories under one heading, and declare the actor to be the subject in spite of some valid claims to that title held by the topic.

Let us now look at an Austronesian language located not far from the Philippines that looks much more like an ergative language, and perhaps in this regard more resembles its great ancestor, Proto-Austronesian.

3. UMA: INTRODUCTION

Uma (sometimes called Pipikoro) is an Austronesian language (Western Toraja, or Kaili-Pamona subgroup) located in the western part of the Indonesian province of Central Sulawesi.[8] Like Philippine languages, Uma has a focus system, though no doubt a linguist familiar with Philippine languages would pronounce its focus system woefully inadequate. The noun phrases are poor naked things that have no topic or non-topic markers. Verbal affixation distinguishes only two major focus constructions, which I will here call actor-focus (A-foc) and goal-focus (G-foc).[9]

3.1 Uma pronouns

Uma somewhat resembles the Philippine languages in its pronoun sets, but even here there are some peculiarities. In a typical Philippine language the non-topic pronoun set does double duty, functioning as possessive clitics on nouns as well as non-topic actor clitics on verbs. But in Uma the non-topic actor pronouns are a separate set from the possessive pronouns. The non-topic actor pronouns are verbal *prefixes*, while the possessive pronouns have remained post-positional *clitics*. Uma has no oblique pronoun set.

Uma pronoun sets

	1. TOPIC		2. NON-TOPIC		3. POSSESSIVE		4. INDEPENDENT	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
1	-a	-kai	ku-	ki-	-ku	-kai	aku'	kai'
2	-ko	-koi	nu-	ni-	-nu	-ni	iko	koi'
3	-i	-ra	na-	ra-	-na	-ra	hi'a	hira'
1+2	-ta		ta-		-ta		kita'	

The topic pronoun set in Uma is a set of clitics, all short forms of the independent pronouns, similar to the typical Philippine pattern. Note that the non-topic actor pronouns, although prefixes, are identical in spelling to the possessive pronoun enclitics, except in the 1pl. (ki- vs. -kai). Obviously the non-topic actor pronouns and possessives used to be one set, but through historical change the non-topic set has become displaced to preverbal position.

3.2 Focus affixes

The typical intransitive verb in Uma is prefixed with mo-.

(10) mo-keno *to run*

(11) mo-hura *to sit*

(12) mo-kuni *yellow*

(13) mo-lengi' *cold*

The typical transitive A-foc verb is prefixed with mpo-, which I will here gloss AFT, actor-focus transitive. This mpo- is actually composed of two morphemes: N-, which functions as a verbaliser or A-foc marker and which is similar both phonologically and semantically to the intransitive mo-; and po-, a prefix that merely indicates transitivity.

(14) mpo-koni' *to eat*

(15) mpo-'inca *to know*

(16) mpo-weba' *to hit*

In a transitive G-foc verb, the mpo- prefix is deleted and the verb stem is obligatorily prefixed with one of the seven non-topic actor pronouns. There is no overt verb affix indicating G-foc; rather it is the absence of the mpo- and the presence of the non-topic actor pronoun that mark the verb as G-foc.

(17) na-koni' *he eats (it)* (G-foc)

(18) ku-'inca *I know (it)* (G-foc)

(19) ki-weba' *We hit (it)* (G-foc)

So far we have seen how the non-topic actor set of pronouns fit on the verbs. Now let's look at the topic pronouns. Topic pronouns (in ALL CAPS below) occur as enclitics on intransitive verbs to indicate the subject. Intransitive clauses are, of course, AF.

(20) mo-keno-A
INT-*run*-*I*
I am running.

(21) mo-hura-I
INT-*sit*-*he*
He is sitting.

(22) mo-lengi'-KO
INT-*cold*-*you*
You are cold.

Topic pronouns are also used to mark the goal of transitive G-foc verbs.

(23) ku-koni'-KO
I(GF)-*eat*-*you*
I eat you.

(24) nu-'inca-A
you(GF)-*know*-*me*
You know me.

(25) na-weba'-RA
he(GF)*-hit-them*
He hits them.

So far so good. This is comparable to what we have seen of Philippine focus systems. The topic pronoun is marking the subject/topic of the intransitive verb, and the goal/topic of the G-foc verb.

Topic Pronouns	= Subject of Intransitive Goal of G-foc Transitive
Non-topic Actor	= Actor of G-foc Transitive

This is precisely the same alignment we saw with the WBM pronoun sets. In Uma, however, this alignment more closely reflects the data. We have not had to take a number of non-actor-focus categories and lump them together under the label 'goal-focus', since Uma has only one non-actor-focus category to start with.

3.3 The ergative interpretation

But there is another significant difference between Uma and our illustrative Philippine language WBM. Here is a summary of the focus affixes used on verbs in WBM (Elkins 1970:52-57; forms in brackets are allomorphs).

AF = Ø
OF = -en [-en, -a, or Ø]
IF = i-
DF = -an [-an or -i]

Note that AF is marked by a non-mark, that is, by the absence of a focus affix. This, I must admit, fits in well with the notion found in Bell 1976 that focus is in essence a 'voice' system in which actor-focus is the (unmarked) active voice and any non-actor-focus constructions are types of passive (marked) voice. This also fits in well with the viewpoint that the topic is the subject of the clause. Bell would probably say that the purpose of these focus affixes is to mark that some nominal other than actor is being promoted to subject position.

But the focus affixes of Uma verbs differ in a fundamental way from those of WMB.

A-foc = mpo-, mo-
G-foc = Ø

In Uma *G-foc* is the unmarked category, not A-foc. Because of this, G-foc verbs in Uma are not good candidates for the label 'passive'. Far from being a marked construction, the G-foc verb form in Uma is the normal, finite form, and it is the A-foc verbs that function more like non-finite forms. G-foc verbs, for instance, are used as the simple, declarative verbs on the backbone of a narrative. Example (26) below shows G-foc verb forms functioning as the main, backbone events of a narrative story. (G-foc verbs are in ALL CAPS.)

(26) ... NA-HILO ohea danci ... NA-'ALA' teko'-na pai' NA-TA'A ...
he(GF)*-saw path bird* *he*(GF)*-took trap-his and* *he*(GF)*-set(it)*

NA-PALAHI' ...
he(GF)-*left(it)*
... He SAW the bird's path ... he TOOK his trap and he SET it ... he LEFT it ....

A-foc verbs, on the other hand, are more often than not found in relative clauses, in complements of auxiliary verbs, or as non-initial verbs in a string. (In the following examples, A-foc verbs are ALL CAPS.)

(27) Aku' to MPO-KONI'-i ulu.
I who AFT-*eat-him first*
I'm the one who will EAT him first.

(28) Ria hadua tomane doko' MPO-BABEHI teko'.
is one man want AFT-*make trap*
There was a man who wanted to MAKE a trap.

(29) Tumai-a-ma MPO-PALI'-ko.
come-I-PFT AFT-*search.for-you*
I have come SEARCHING FOR you.

Notice how the A-foc verbs are either in subjectless clauses *(who will eat)* or translated as non-finite forms *(to make, searching for)*.

It is my suggestion that the development of elaborate focus systems in the Philippine languages has caused the non-A-focus constructions to become more passive-like, and the non-focused actor less subject-like. In Uma and languages like Uma, however, the focus system has remained simple, and thus the non-A-focus verbs are less like passives, and the actor possesses more subject-like properties.

1) First of all, rather than having several non-A-focus categories, Uma has only one.

2) Through recent historical change, the non-topic actor pronouns in Uma became repositioned before the verb. Along with this, the prefix marking G-foc, being somewhat redundant, was deleted and the non-topic actor pronouns were hooked directly onto the verb stem as prefixes.[10]

So, in Uma there is no longer an affix to mark G-foc verbs as 'passives'. Furthermore, the non-topic actor pronouns are now up in front of the verbs, commanding a more subject-like position. All of this has caused Uma topic and non-topic pronouns to more closely resemble absolutive and ergative pronouns:

Topic Pronouns = Actor/Topic of Intransitive
Goal/Topic of G-foc Transitive

Non-topic Pronouns = Actor of G-foc Transitive

- can be interpreted as →

ABSOLUTIVE = Subject of Intransitive
Object of G-foc Transitive

ERGATIVE = Subject of G-foc Transitive

Thus Uma, an Austronesian language, bears a striking resemblance to Tzeltal, a Mayan language of Mexico that is ergative. (Tzeltal data from my field notes.)

	TZELTAL	UMA
(30)a.	a-koltay-on	b. nu-tulungi-a
	you-help-me	*you-help-me*
	You help me.	*You help me.*
(31)a.	h-koltay-at	b. ku-tulungi-ko
	I-help-you	*I-help-you*
	I help you.	*I help you.*
(32)a.	yax b-on	b. hilou-a
	asp. *go-I*	*go-I*
	I am going.	*I am going.*
(33)a.	yax b-at	b. hilou-ko
	asp. *go-you*	*go-you*
	You are going.	*You are going.*

Both Tzeltal and Uma have the same structures: *erg-VERB-abs* for transitive verbs ((30) and (31)); and *VERB-abs* for intransitive verbs ((32) and (33)). In Tzeltal the suffix pronoun set marks the absolutive category (-on *I, me*; -at *you*) and the prefix pronoun set marks the ergative category (h- *I*; a- *you*), just as in Uma.

3.4 A-foc transitive: the test

So, does Uma have topic and non-topic pronouns, or does it have absolutive and ergative pronouns? Since Uma is a language of Western Austronesia, focus is obviously the historical basis for the present system. But one has to admit that the ergative interpretation fits pretty well.

Up to this point, we have been ignoring one kind of verb form. What happens when you have an A-foc transitive verb? Here's where the real crunch comes. Since the ACTOR is in focus, it should be marked with a Set 1 (TOPIC) pronoun. But since the GOAL of the verb is the absolutive category, it should be marked with a Set 1 (ABSOLUTIVE) pronoun. A conflict arises.

As stated before, in WBM there are few clear examples of TRANSITIVE actor-focus clauses. But one thing is clear from Elkins' data: whenever a Set 1 pronoun occurs with an AF verb, it always marks the actor.

(34) iyan is edhangyu A keniyu he kena A iyan edekepa
proposal beg *I*(TOP) *you*(OBL) lig *not* *me*(TOP) *really arrest*
I beg you do not really arrest me.

In (34) (from Elkins 1971:223), the verb 'beg' is an AF form and transitive: *I beg you.* Note that the topic pronoun a *I* (in caps above and underlined in translation) encodes the actor. Note that the object of the verb is encoded by an oblique pronoun keniyu *you*(pl.).

In Uma, however, when an A-foc transitive verb is followed by a Set 1 pronoun, it almost always encodes the GOAL. The alleged topic pronoun is not marking the topic actor but the non-topic goal - a victory for the ergative interpretation.

(35) Aku' to mpo-koni'-I ulu.
I REL AFT-*eat-him first*
I will eat HIM first.

(36) Hema to mpo-weba'-KO?
who REL AFT-*hit-you*
Who hit YOU?

(37) Tumai-ra-mo mpai' pue' ngata mpo-pali'-A.
*come-they-*PFT *later owners village* AFT-*search.for-me*
The villagers will come later searching for ME.

(38) Uma-ko ma'ala mpo-tagi-A.
not-you can AFT-*restrain-me*
You cannot restrain ME.

In (35)-(38) we find A-foc transitive verb forms (notice the mpo- prefixes). The Set 1 pronouns that are attached to these verbs (in ALL CAPS) are in each case the goal of the verb. How is it that the TOPIC pronoun on an ACTOR-focus verb could be encoding the GOAL?

What has happened, I believe, is that the topic pronouns in Uma no longer are marking only topic, but have also assumed some of the functions of OBLIQUE pronouns in Philippine languages, that is, marking non-topic non-actor referents (see section 2 and also example (34)). In other words, Uma topic pronouns are not purely topic pronouns, but more like unmarked, neutral pronouns, *much like one would expect of absolutive pronouns in an ergative language*. Dixon (1979) says that the absolutive is almost always the unmarked, neutral category in an ergative language.

3.5 Antipassives

There are, however, instances in Uma when a Set 1 pronoun encodes the actor of an A-foc transitive verb.

(39) Mpo-hilo-I romeha' sakaea.
AFT-*see-he two boat*
HE saw two boats.

(40) Mpope-tulungi-A hi iko.
REQ-*help-I to you*
I request help from you.

In (39) the verb is A-foc transitive (mpo-), and a Set 1 topic pronoun (-i *he*) is encoding the actor. The same is true in (40), where the requestive prefix cluster mpope- is A-foc transitive (notice the mpo-), and the topic pronoun -a *I* encodes the actor. This is what one expects from a topic pronoun in a focus language, right? But this data is not incompatible with an ergative interpretation.

Most ergative languages have a construction called an ANTIPASSIVE. In an antipassive construction the actor of the transitive verb - the ergative category - is encoded as an absolutive. As Hopper and Thompson (1980:268) point out, the antipassive construction is typically used in situations where the object is indefinite or not fully affected, or when the verb is stative/involuntary, or in other such situations of reduced transitivity.

Assuming the ergative interpretation of Uma pronouns, (39) and (40) may simply be called antipassive constructions. Such constructions occur in two situations in Uma. First of all, it occurs with the requestive prefix cluster mpope- and a few others like it that exclusively take Set 1 pronouns as their subject. In

spite of the mpo-, verbs prefixed with mpope- simply act like intransitive verbs. They are frozen forms. The second situation in which the antipassive is used is when the object of the verb is referential but not aforementioned. In (39) the object of the verb, 'two boats', has not been mentioned before in the story. As a matter of fact, the very purpose of this clause is to introduce the boats into the story. Antipassives like this occur rarely in Uma, but when they do, it is almost always in the setting of a story to introduce some new prop or character.

So when we examine A-foc transitive verbs, we find support for the suggestion that Uma pronoun sets are analysable as ergative and absolutive. On A-foc transitive verbs, the Set 1 pronouns, normally called topic, do not usually mark topic but rather the non-topic goal. In the rare instances when Set 1 pronouns do mark the topic on an A-foc transitive verb, such constructions nicely fit the classical antipassive pattern found in ergative languages.

4. THE POLYNESIAN PARALLEL

Before concluding, I would like to bolster my argument by mentioning a parallel situation in another part of the Austronesian-speaking world. Chung (1977), Hohepa (1969) and others have shown that in the Polynesian islands, languages have drifted from an original accusative pattern to an ergative one. Furthermore, the mechanism of this change is remarkably similar to what I have suggested for Uma.

Chung summarises her finding in Li 1977, and I here summarise her summary.

1) Proto-Polynesian was a VSO language in which case-marking particles preceded the nouns and tense markers preceded the verbs. It was an accusative language, with subjects unmarked and direct objects marked with i.

2) Proto-Polynesian had the following verbal clause types:

INTR:	Tense	Verb	Subj	
TRANS:	Tense	Verb	Subj	i DO
PASSIVE:	Tense	Verb-Cia	e Agent (underlying subject)	Subj (underlying DO)

In the passive, the original direct object became the new subject, and the original subject was marked with e. The verb was marked as passive by the suffix -Cia, where C stands for some consonant. These same clause patterns are still used in some present-day Polynesian languages, such as Hawaiian and Maori.

3) In some Polynesian languages, however, the old passive has been reanalysed as an ergative construction:

PASSIVE:	Tense	Verb-Cia	e Agent (underlying subject)	Subj (underlying DO)
		- reanalysed as →		
TRANS:	Tense	Verb(-Cia)	e Subj	DO

And voila! we have an ergative construction in which e marks the ergative, and direct objects (DO) and intransitive subjects make up the unmarked absolutive category. The old passive suffix -Cia may now be deleted. Tongan and most Samoic-Outlier languages follow this ergative pattern.

4) Chung speculates that "... it may be that this reanalysis was facilitated by the fact that the passive was more frequent than the active in Proto-Polynesian" (1977:13). That is, the passive rule became opaque due to overuse.

Compare the above four points with the Philippine languages and Uma.

1) Philippine languages are generally verb initial, with case-marking particles preceding the noun phrases and aspect-tense affixes often preceding the verbs.

2) The following verbal clause types are common in Philippine languages:

INTR: Aspect/AF - Verb		si TOPIC	
AF TRANS: Aspect/AF - Verb		si TOPIC	ni GOAL
GF TRANS: Aspect/GF - Verb ('PASSIVE')	-ku (Agent) (underlying subject)	si TOPIC (underlying goal, i.e. O,I,L,D)	

Philippine languages look a lot like the accusative Polynesian languages. The topic (or subject if you will) is always marked the same (here represented by the si topic marker found in so many Philippine languages). There is an overt marker for the 'passive', or non-actor-focus verb types. The agent in a 'passive' is marked by a special non-focus pronoun set (here represented by the 1s -ku clitic).

3) But in Uma, a not-so-distant cousin of the Philippine languages, non-actor-focus clause types are so much simpler that they no longer appear passive. Along with this, the actor pronouns more resemble ergatives:

INTR:	AF	- Verb - Subj	
A-FOC TRANS:	AF	- Verb - DO	
G-FOC TRANS:	ku-(Subj)	- Verb - DO	

In Uma the overt markers of non-actor-focus have been deleted, the non-topic pronouns that mark the agent in a non-actor-focus clause have now become prefixes (here again represented by 1s ku-).

4) Chung speculates that the passive rule became opaque in some Polynesian languages because it was so common. The same could be true of Uma. Non-actor-focus verb forms are the preferred forms in narrative and some other discourse types, and in commands, to mention just a few categories. It is easy to see how any element of passiveness in a G-foc construction could disappear in Uma, especially since the verbs now lack any overt passive (G-foc) affixes.

So the passive to ergative reanalysis that occurred in Polynesia parallels the G-foc to ergative reanalysis I have suggested for Uma. The Polynesian situation deals with noun phrase markers, Uma with pronoun sets, but the pattern is still similar.

5. SUMMARY

Starosta et al. (1982) have suggested that the topic and non-topic pronoun sets found in present-day Philippine languages may be reflexes of what was an ergative-absolutive system in Proto-Austronesian. But this original system has been obscured in modern Philippine languages by a proliferation of special verbal affixes that have created a type of voice system, usually called a focus system, in which a nominal other than the actor can be singled out as the syntactic pivot of the clause. Because of this focus system, it is not just underlying

direct objects that can be encoded by topic (original absolutive) pronouns, but locations, instruments, etc. Furthermore, since the topic pronoun has become the syntactic pivot of the clause, the actor now commands a less subject-like position.

Uma, while not a Philippine language, does possess pronoun sets that are very similar to pronoun sets found in Philippine languages. But in Uma the focus system is simpler, having only one non-actor-focus category. Furthermore, Uma no longer has verbal affixes that mark G-foc, and it has repositioned the non-topic actor pronouns in preverbal position. Thus in Uma topic and non-topic pronoun sets are more easily analysed as absolutive and ergative. And indeed, in A-foc transitive clauses the so-called 'topic' pronoun set is used to mark some non-topics as well. In Uma the topic pronouns are more neutral in their function, much like absolutive pronouns.

This does not mean that Uma is not a focus language. My point is that because of the nature of the focus system in Uma, its pronoun sets fit in to ergative-absolutive categories. In keeping with Starosta et al. 1982, my guess is that Uma did not innovate this ergative-absolutive pronoun system, but that it has retained it from Proto-Austronesian. Of course, it is also possible that the proto-language from which Uma and languages like it developed at one time had a more elaborate focus system, and that this focus system has since simplified to reveal the present ergative system. The truth may lie somewhere in between.

NOTES

[1]The author and his wife have conducted research on the Uma language in the village of Kantewu (Kulawi district of Central Sulawesi) since June 1980. This paper has been produced as part of the cooperative agreement between the Summer Institute of Linguistics and Hasanuddin University, Ujung Pandang, South Sulawesi, Indonesia.

[2]Starosta et al. (1982) define an ergative language as 'one in which the grammatical subject is always in the Patient case relation'. This is, of course, assuming that the absolutive is always the grammatical subject in ergative languages, an assumption that is not accepted by all (see Anderson 1976). Modern linguistics cannot seem to agree on what 'subject' is in ergative languages any more than it can agree on what it is in Philippine focus languages - there must be a kernel of wisdom here for the wise.

[3]See Weaver 1964 for a good description of some uses of oblique pronouns in a related Manobo language.

[4]The same is true of the requestive prefix mpope- in Uma; see Martens 1988:184 for examples.

[5]Bell (1976) presents a good summary of the various views about subjects in Philippine languages, and gives a detailed analysis of Cebuano to show that from the Relational Grammar perspective, topic is the subject.

[6]Quoted in Bell 1976:14.

[7]Bell (1976:17) says the same thing in Relational Grammar terminology when she calls the actor the "initial Subject" and the topic "final Subject".

[8]See Martens 1988 for a more complete description of Uma verb morphology.

[9]There is also a verbal suffix -i that indicates that the goal of the verb is a location. But verbs marked with -i must also be marked as A-foc or G-foc.

Thus this suffix creates only a subsystem within Uma's overall A-foc vs. G-foc dichotomy. Uma's focus system is very similar to that found in Indonesian, which has only actor-focus (meng-) and goal-focus (di-), with a locative suffix -i used as a subsystem.

[10] We can safely assume from comparing other languages of the Kaili-Pamona subgroup that in its protoform Uma used prefixes for G-foc. Compare Uma with Kaili (Da'a dialect):

KAILI: Ni-oli-ku ose etu.
GF/realis *buy-I*(NT) *rice that*
I buy that rice.

UMA: Ku-'oli once tetu.
I(GF)*-buy rice that*
I buy that rice.

for goal-focus irrealis. When the non-topic pronouns (-ku in the above example) became repositioned in Uma, Uma also lost these goal-focus prefixes, and the realis-irrealis system as well.

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SOME NOTES ON THE INELEGANT GLOTTAL: A PROBLEM IN UMA PHONOLOGY[1]

Michael Martens and Martha Martens

THE PROBLEM

Uma is an Austronesian language of west-central Sulawesi in Indonesia. The languages in this area tend to have five-vowel systems, penultimate stress, no final consonants and no consonant clusters. This is what we were expecting to find in Uma. But Uma, we quickly noticed, has a lot of glottal stops, including word-final glottal stops. Surely it couldn't be true that of Uma's twenty-odd consonants, only this one could occur word final. At first we thought that these final glottals might be just phonetic variants. But it was hard to ignore data such as the following:

úma *no*	túvu *to steam rice in bamboo*
úma' *uncle*	túvu' *to live*
motómo *heavy*	ma'ála *to be able*
motómo' *delicious*	ála' *to pick up*

When these words with final glottals are followed by consonant-initial clitics, consonant clusters arise, i.e. glottal plus another consonant.

úma'na *his uncle*	túvu'pidi *still living*
ála'ra *pick them up*	

So, it seems that Uma has no final consonants *except* glottal, and no consonant clusters *except* those caused by the final glottals - not an elegant solution.

We were eager to find another analysis, and this next bit of data made it almost imperative. These final glottals in Uma are peculiar in one other way: they *always* occur at the end of the root word. If a derivational suffix[2] is added to the root, the glottal moves right along and occurs after the suffix.

ána' *child*
mo'anái' *to have children* (mo- is an intransitive prefix, and -i is a verb-making suffix)

mohári' *to fetch palm wine*
haría' *palm wine container* (-a is a noun-making suffix)

lómpe' *good*
kalompéa' *goodness* (ka-a is a noun-making circumfix)

If the final glottal is analysed as a word-final consonant, it is strange indeed that it should move like this. It would be as strange as if in the English word 'good', the 'd' moved to the end of the word when the suffix '-ness' is added, thus becoming 'goonessd'.

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THE ANALYSIS

Rather than interpreting the final glottal as a segmental phoneme, we decided to view it as a word-level phenomenon.[3] Just as intonation, stress, and other suprasegmentals function over a stretch of speech, defining phrases, sentences, etc., so this final glottal in Uma is functioning to mark off a whole word as 'glottalised'. Thus there are two word classes in Uma, non-glottalised and glottalised. A minimal pair like uma and uma' could be represented as /uma[1]/ and /uma[2]/, or as /uma/ and /UMA/, or by numerous other conventions. The point is that the final glottal is not a segment, but like intonation or stress is functioning at a higher level of the phonological hierarchy.

What is the advantage of positing two word classes? Why not just have plain old word-final glottals? Practically speaking, there is no change in orthography; an apostrophe at the end of the word is the easiest way to mark the phenomenon in either case. But this solution is theoretically more satisfying.

First of all, it explains why the final glottal does not 'hold still' when suffixes are added. That glottal is not just another consonant in the sequence of consonants and vowels making up the word. It isn't a case of 'good' and 'goonessd', but more like 'I'm going' and 'I'm going home'. Falling pitch comes at the end of both utterances; it is not tied to a certain word. So the final glottal in Uma occurs at the end of the root word, whether it is a bare stem or a derived root.

A second reason the word-level solution is to be preferred is native reaction. Uma speakers who are linguistically aware say that certain words are spoken softly (Indonesian lemah), while certain other words must be said with emphasis (pakai tekanan). When trying to write their language, most speakers use an apostrophe for the final glottals, but by and large they neglect to use it consistently. Occasionally, too, an Uma speaker will suggest spelling a non-glottalised word with a final 'h' and leaving a glottalised word unmarked, a notion borrowed from Indonesian.

A third reason: in the speech of some Umas, especially young children, words with final glottals also have medial glottals before stops.

Normal pronunciation:	ládi'	*knife*	karábi'	*comb*
Child's pronunciation:	lá'di'		karáʼbi'	

The entire word seems 'tense' to them, an indication that the final glottal is a word-level feature. If, in future generations, the pronunciation la'di' becomes the norm, the present orthographic rendering ladi' should still suffice. The final apostrophe marks the entire word as a 'tense' word.

Thus the word-final glottal in Uma is not a segment. We are freed from the inelegance of having only one possible word-final consonant and only one type of consonant cluster. In phonology, as in grammar and discourse, it pays to keep in mind the hierarchical structure of language. From a higher point of view, word-final glottals *can* be elegant.

NOTES

[1]In this paper glottal stop is represented by an apostrophe, and stress by an acute accent. In 1974 we participated in a phonology course at the University of Texas at Arlington under Dr Marvin Mayers. We are indebted to Dr Mayer's Discourse Phonology for the insights shared in this paper.

[2]There are two types of suffixes in Uma. The outer suffixes act much like clitics. They do not cause the stress on the root to shift, and they occur after the final glottal, if there is any. (The three examples of consonant clusters have this type of suffix.) The inner suffixes discussed in the section above are mostly derivational in function. They become part of the root word, shifting the stress and occurring before the final glottal.

[3]In view of the outer suffixes discussed in note 2 above, perhaps it would be better to talk of glottalised and non-glottalised roots rather than words. But whatever one calls them, the point is that there are phonologically discreet groupings of syllables in Uma, some glottalised and some not.

TOWARDS THE HISTORICAL GRAMMAR OF THE SOUTH SULAWESI LANGUAGES: POSSESSIVE ENCLITICS IN THE POSTVOCALIC POSITION

Ülo Sirk

1. In the South Sulawesi (hereafter: SSul)[1] languages, the possessive pronominal enclitics, or at any rate, a large proportion of them, have allomorphs that may be arranged into two sets, one of which (set 2) is distinguished by the presence of an additional homorganic nasal segment or its reflex in the morph-initial position. The following table demonstrates the possessive paradigms of four SSul languages (in terms of intra-group relationship, these languages are not especially close to one another). Obsolete forms are enclosed in round brackets.

Language	Set 1	Set 2	Not assignable to the sets in discussion	Meaning[2]
1	2	3	4	5
Sa'danese	-ku -mu -na -ta -ki -mi	-ŋku -mmu -nna -nta -ŋki -mmi		*my* *your* (sing.) 3p *our* (incl.); *your* (polite) *our* (excl.) *your* (plur., and polite)
Buginese	-ku, (-u) -mu -na -ta (-kiʔ)	-kku -mmu -nna -tta (-kkiʔ)	(-mməŋ)	*my* (also: *our*) *your* (sing., plur.) 3p *our*; *your* (polite) *our* (incl.) *our* (excl.)
Makassarese	-ku -nu -na -ta	-ŋku -nnu -nna -nta	(-mmaŋ)	*my* (also: *our*) *your* (sing., plur.) 3p *our*; *your* (polite) *our* (excl.)
Mandar	-mu -na -ta	-mmu -nna -tta	-[ʔ]u -[ʔ]i (-maŋ)	*my* *your* (sing., plur.) 3p } *our* *our* (excl.)

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In case an enclitic has the forms which could be classified according to the sets, the form to be used in the postconsonantal position (that is, after a consonant-final word) always belongs to set 1, though there could be sequences phonetically identical to set 2 forms. Compare:

Language	Unquestionable set 2	Combination with a consonant-final word
Sa'danese	mata → matanna (mata-nna) *his eye*	taan[3] → taanna (taan-na) *his deal, the deal set aside for him*
Buginese	ulu → ulukku (ulu-kku) *my head*	jaruŋ → jarukku[4] *my needle*

Both sets occur after vowel-final words. For example, we have: (1) Sad, Bug, Mak lila-ku *my tongue*, lila-na *his tongue*; (2) Sad, Mak lima-ŋku, Bug lima-kku *my hand*, Sad, Bug, Mak lima-nna *his hand*.

The purpose of this paper is to describe the use of the possessive sets in the postvocalic position and to examine the historical origins of this use.

2. Apparently the first to notice the two sets of possessive enclitics in the languages now classed as South Sulawesian was B.F. Matthes. In his Makassarese grammar he stated that after a number of vowel-final words a nasal is inserted before the pronominal element, which results in -nna beside -na, in -ŋku beside -ku, and so on (1858:67, 70, 72, 75-77, 82). According to Matthes, the use of the inserted nasal in Makassarese is not subject to any clear rules, except that the nasal is obligatory after the suffix -i. Consider the examples from Matthes' grammar (1858):

(1) mata *eye* — matanna *his eye*, mataŋku *my eye*
(2) (From the same base:) maʔmatamata *to watch* — rimaʔmatamatana *during his watch*, rimaʔmatamataku *during my watch*
(3) (With the suffix -i:) paŋŋalarroi *fit of anger* — paŋŋalarrointa *your fit of anger*

According to Matthes' Buginese grammar (1875), nasals also appear in the similar position in Buginese, yet 'only most rarely' (p.182). The examples adduced in that book as well as in various other works of Matthes suggest that, in Buginese, set 2 is restricted to the position after a, though not all the a-final words are involved. For example Matthes (1875:182-183, 195-196) cites Bug matanna *his eye*, bolana *his house* (with the 1st person possessive respectively matakku, bolaku), tolina *his ear*, anuna *his property* (while Makassarese, according to Matthes' remark in 1875:183 should have tolinna, anunna).

H. van der Veen observed inserted nasals in the Sa'danese language, for which he established the following rule: the nasal homorganic with the initial consonant of the possessive suffix is placed after any noun ending in i or u and after certain nouns ending in a (e.g. walimmu *your enemy*, kayuŋku *my tree*,

umaŋku *my wet rice-field*, respectively from wali, kayu, uma); to the nouns ending in e or in o and to the rest of those ending in a the possessive suffix is joined without any intervening nasal (e.g. pareku *my rice*, lindona *his face*, solamu *your comrade*, respectively from pare, lindo, sola) (Veen 1924:44-45). For comparative purposes, this rule is to be reformulated in terms of possessive allomorph sets, and as such, we will call it Veen's rule. Schematically, it may be presented as follows:

Final vowel:		Set:
e, o	—	1
i, u	—	2
a	—	either 1 or 2

One of the major linguistic conclusions that can be drawn from J. Noorduyn's study of Wajo's Chronicle (1955) is to the effect that the Buginese language conforms, at least in general outline, to Veen's rule. This conclusion, based on the transcribed[5] text of the chronicle and on Noorduyn's laconic remark concerning the sphere of the 'paradigm amâkku'[6] (that is, in our terms, set 2), sharply contrasts with Matthes' statement discussed above. As for Noorduyn, he does not make any reference in the given context either to Matthes or to Van der Veen.

Recently, however, Veen's rule was called in question by R.F. Mills, who wrote: 'Van der Veen states a rule which may be true of Sa'danese, but not of Buginese or others...' A few lines further on Mills doubts whether Veen's rule applies even to Sa'danese: '... it may have been a premature conclusion, made as it was near the beginning of his [Van der Veen's — U.S.] Sa'danese studies' (Mills 1975b:221).

As can be seen, conflicting opinions have been expressed concerning the distribution of the SSul sets of possessive enclitics in the postvocalic position. Hence our first task is to determine the pattern of distribution in question as precisely as possible by way of considering all the available evidence. The main problems to be tackled are: (1) to what extent is Veen's rule applicable to particular languages, and (2) how are the sets used after a. In the last part of this paper we will try to find the historical explanation of the emerging picture.

3.1 Sa'danese: In writing Sa'danese words, Van der Veen persistently keeps to the rule established by him in 1924. This applies both to the Tae'-Dutch dictionary (Veen 1940) and to the publications of Sa'danese oral tradition (Veen 1950, 1965, 1966, 1976, 1979; the last of these works was printed after Van der Veen's death). The same picture can be observed in translations of Psalms (Pa'pudian, 1972) and of the Gospel According to Luke (Kareba..., 1973). It is likely that the translator of these biblical texts was Van der Veen, but by the time they were edited in Indonesia, he had already left that country. Further, no violation of Veen's rule is found in the Toraja-Indonesian dictionary (Tammu and Veen 1972), the text of which, compiled mainly by Van der Veen, has been reworked by the editor, J. Tammu, with the collaboration of L. Pakan. It is hardly likely that the last-named Indonesians, both native speakers of Sa'danese, might have uncritically adhered to a spelling tradition,

even to a prestigious one, if that was at variance with the reality of their mother-tongue. In view of this, it is also noteworthy that the texts of Sa'danese oral tradition edited by L. Pakan (1959a, 1959b) follow Veen's rule. Just the same must be said about the examples of words with possessive enclitics that are found in the phonological description of the Kesu' dialect presented by J.S. Sande and W.A.L. Stokhof (1977), even if these examples are too scarce for drawing any definite conclusions.

In view of the whole evidence supplied by the works cited so far we may be sure that Veen's rule conforms, indeed, to the traditional norm of the Sa'danese language or, at least, to that of some Sa'danese dialects. The expression 'traditional norm' refers here to what was the general norm several decades ago; we are not in a position to make any claim concerning its present-day status. In all likelihood, the Sa'danese language's norm is undergoing some change at present due to the immensely grown relations of Sa'danese speakers with Ujung Pandang. It is possible that the few cases of aberrant use of possessive sets which can be observed in H. Nooy-Palm's ethnographical study of Sa'dan-Torajas (1979) reflect some recent shifts in the norm (for example, the combination talluna (tallu *three*), with -na instead of the expected -nna, resembles the Makassarese usage).

3.2 Buginese: From recent publications containing texts and/or glosses in Latinised Buginese, we should like to note, first of all, the Buginese-Indonesian dictionary compiled by the Indonesian linguist Ide Said (1977), a native speaker of Buginese, and the mimeographed work *Struktur bahasa Bugis* [*The structure of the Buginese language*] written under Ide Said's guidance (1977/78). These works, the dictionary in particular, are notable for omission of the etymological final glottal stop in some (by far not in all) words, whereas after such words (thus sometimes after the final i or u) set 1 is used, e.g.: uli *skin* — uliku, ulimu (but once, Dictionary p.151: ulikmu), ulina; bulu *mountain* — buluna. The spellings just exemplified are rather puzzling. I have not come across cases of omission of the etymological final glottal stop in any other works representing Latinised Buginese; the sound in question has also been heard by me in the speech of Buginese-speaking Indonesians. At the same time, the spelling ulina seems to be less likely to reflect the pronunciation uli'na than the spelling ulinna would have been. However, the aberrant use of set 1 in Ide Said's works concerns only a small number of words. Beyond those cases and beyond a number of inconsistencies ascribable to misprints (which are, unfortunately, especially abundant in the dictionary), both the works under consideration here obey Veen's rule. Neither do the short texts and glosses included in the Indonesian linguists' work *Beberapa aspek morfologi bahasa Bugis* [*Some aspects of the morphology of the Buginese language*] (Nurdin Yusuf et al 1979) as well as other publications at our disposal (Macknight and Mukhlis 1979, Hamonic 1980a, 1980b; Pelras 1979; Mangemba 1956, 1975; Voegelin and Voegelin 1965; Wati 1960) contain any serious counter-evidence against Veen's rule.

Evidently this rule is true, in general outline, of the Buginese language as it is, or was until recently, spoken in a number of regions of the Buginese area: in Bone, and perhaps also in Wajo', in Soppeng and in Rappang. Matthes' spelling seems to represent another tradition of unknown location.

3.3 Apparently Veen's rule is not restricted to Sa'danese and Buginese only. Some amount of evidence in favour of this rule is also provided by a number of other idioms.

3.3.1 Mamasa: This idiom is extremely close to what is usually called Sa'danese (or Sa'danese proper). With some uncertainty in respect to its linguistic status, we draw into consideration the story 'Lombe' Susu' edited by J. Koubi, who defines the language used there as follows:

> ... au niveau de vocabulaire, il est un mélange du dialecte parlé dans la région de Mamasa ... et du dialecte parlé dans la région Sa'dan (Koubi 1978:49).

In the use of possessive enclitics, this text fully conforms to Veen's rule. Yet one might ask if the tradition adhered to by the storyteller is, regarding the use of possessive sets, Sa'danese or Mamasa. Still, we also have a text which, though short, is clearly Mamasa (Bikker 1934), and what can be elicited from these suggests that, in the given aspect, the Mamasa tradition does not differ from the Sa'danese one.

3.3.2 Duri: Another idiom close to Sa'danese is Duri. The scanty material (about 20 combinations consisting of a vowel-final word and a possessive enclitic) that can be elicited from *Bahasa di Lima Massenrempulu* [*Languages of Lima Massenrempulu*] (Pelenkahu et al. 1972) is reconcilable with Veen's rule.

3.3.3 Endekan, Maiwan, Pattinjo: The last-mentioned publication of Indonesian linguists also contains some fragmentary data concerning the Endekan, Maiwan and Pattinjo idioms. For Endekan and Maiwan, no violation of Veen's rule can be stated. Pattinjo paumu *your words* (Pelenkahu et al. 1972), evidently from pau *word(s), saying* (a universal South Sulawesian lexeme), is not reconcilable with Veen's rule. The Pattinjo material, however, is too scarce for drawing any conclusions.

3.3.4 Mandar: For the Mandar language, we have at our disposal the text 'Lontar Mandar' edited by A. Tenriadji and G.J. Wolhoff (1955) and the Mandar-Indonesian dictionary compiled by A. Muthalib (1977). The comparatively scanty material of 'Lontar Mandar' conforms, for the most part, to Veen's rule. Muthalib's dictionary is by far richer in relevant examples though characterised by frequent use of the parentheses, the function of which is not duly explained:[7] for example, we come across both wainna and wai(n)na (wai *water*), both ulunna and ulu(n)na (ulu *head*). It may be suspected that set 2 may be optionally (?) replaced by set 1. At the same time, the constraints of distribution of set 2 — either obligatory or optional as this set might be — fully correspond to Veen's rule. For our comparative purposes, we will treat Muthalib's examples with parentheses as if set 2 were present.

3.4 Makassarese: The picture that could be drawn from the language material to be found in A.A. Cense's voluminous Makassarese-Dutch dictionary (1979) does not sharply contradict Matthes' data (1858, 1885). Evidently the Makassarese

language does not obey Veen's rule. None the less it is remarkable that in 'noun + possessive' combinations answering the question 'whose?' set 1 prevails over set 2 in the positions after -e and -o (though some nouns such as ase *rice*, pare (archaic) id., taŋke *branch*, kale *(my-, your-, etc.)self*, allo *day* definitely require set 2). At the same time, although set 1 is, in the above-defined construction, frequently used after i-final and u-final words, still a significant number of inherited nouns with these finals (e.g. balli *price*, ulu *head*) demand set 2. As in other languages, both sets occur after a-final nouns.

Makassarese is notable for the many-sided influence of lexico-semantic and grammatical factors on the choice of the set. Here are some examples:

baine	*wife; woman*
baineŋku	*my wife*
baineku	*my woman* (e.g. *my maid-servant*)
bawi	*pig; blockaded piece (in draughts play)*
bawinna	*his pig*
bawina	*his blockaded draughts-play piece*
tau	*man, person*
taunna	*his man* (i.e. *person subject to him, accompanying him, or like*)
tauna	*when* (or: *because*) *he is (was) a man; the fact that he is (was) a man*

What has been said so far applies to nouns. Judging from Cense's dictionary, after adjectives and suffixless verbs one usually employs set 1. Set 2 seems to be normal after the verbs with the suffix -i, e.g.: ku-piewai-nna-ji gassiŋ (Cense 1979:211) *only* (-ji) *if I strain every nerve*[8] (pi-ewa-i *to strain*).

The data we have concerning Konjo and Turatea suggest that in the treatment of nouns that form part of constructions answering the question 'whose?' these dialects bear a strong resemblance to Standard Makassarese (nothing can be said about other ways of using possessive enclitics).

It is remarkable that, notwithstanding the peculiar features of Makassarese, in their combinability with possessive sets a significant number of Makassarese nouns agree with their cognates in other SSul languages.

3.5 As appears from the above, the pattern reducible to Veen's rule is widespread though not universal in the SSul languages.

Furthermore, as the following lists show, a considerable degree of parallelism is observable between various languages in the choice of the possessive set after a-final words.

Lists 1 and 2 include the etyma in regard to which several SSul languages agree in set choice. Both the lists have been made, in principle, as exhaustive as our material permits, only a number of late borrowings of European and Bahasa Indonesia origin have been omitted. List 3 illustrates, without aiming at exhaustivity, some discrepancies between the languages.

List 1: words requiring set 1[9]

1. Sad (V,T, OT, BT, NP), Bug (IS, Vo, M), Mak (Standard: M, C; Tur: Ma) lila *tongue* < PSS *lila.[10]
2. Sad (V, T, OT, BT, P), Mam (LS), Bug (IS) sala *wrong, lack*, Mak (C, L) sala *wrong, faulty*[11] < PSS *sala.
3. Sad (V, T, BT), Mam (LS) rara, Bug (IS, MM, M, Vo) dara *blood* < PSS *(d,r)ara.
4. Sad (V, T, OT, BT, NP), Mam (B), Man (TW), Mak (C) taŋŋa, Bug (IS, N, M) təŋŋa *half, middle* < PSS *təŋŋa.
5. Sad (V), Mak (C) gatta, Bug (IS) gətta *gum, resin* < PSS *gətta.
6. Sad (OT) bua *areca nut* (when designating *fruit* (OT) or *heart* (V) Sad bua is used with set 2); Bug (IS) ua, (IS, M) bua *fruit*; Man (Mu) bua *fruit* < PSS *bua.
7. Bug (IS, M) -pinra *to go away, to change*, Mak (C) pinra *change* < PSS *pinda.
8. Sad (V, T, OT), Mam (B), Dur (BL), Man (Mu) ba?ba *door*, Bug (IS, N, MM, M) baba *river-mouth*, Mak (C, M) bawa *mouth* < PSS *bahba.
9. Sad (V, T, BT) taa, Bug (IS), Mak (C) tawa *deal, part* < PSS *ta(b)a.
10. Sad (V, T, OT, BT, P), Mam (B, LS), Dur (BL), Man (Mu) sola *mate, companion* < PSS *ola (with a prefix).[12]
11. Dur (BL), Bug (IS, N, NY), Mak (C) tana *earth* < PSS *tana.
12. Dur (BL), End (BL), Mai (BL), Bug (IS, N, NY, W, M), Mak (Kon: K) bola *house* < PSS *bola.
13. Bug (IS, Pe), Man (Mu), Mak (Standard: C) ñawa, Mak (Kon: K) ñaha *soul, life* < PSS (?) *ñawa.
14. Sad (OT) da?pa, Bug (MM) rəppa, Mak (C) rappa *fathom* < PSS (?) *(d)əppa.
15. Bug (IS, M) [ri]awa,[13] Mak irawa *lower (part)* < post(?)-PSS *a(b,w)a. Not touched upon in Mills' dissertation (1975b).
16. Mak (C, M) susa, Man (Mu) sussa *grief*. (Probably a post-PSS borrowing; reducible to *susaq; cf. Malay susah.)
17. Sad (T, Bt), Mak (C) parenta, Man (Mu) paretta *order, rule*. A post-PSS borrowing, perhaps from (early) Malay *parintah.
18. Bug (IS, N, M), Man (Mu) sara *grief*. A post=SSul borrowing; cf. Malay sengara, ultimately from Sanskrit.
19. Bug (IS), Mak (C) cinna *desire, longing*.
20. Bug (IS) balañca, Mak (C) balañja *spending money*.
21. Mak (C), Man (Mu) baca *reading, recitation*.
22. Bug (IS), Mak (C), Man (Mu) agama *religion*.
23. Bug (IS), Mak (C), Man (Mu) parakara *matter, issue, clause of a document*.
24. Sad (SS), Bug (NY), Mak(Kon: K), Man (Mu) kadera *chair*.
25. Bug (IS), Mak (C) sapeda *bicycle*.
26. Bug (IS), Mak (C), Man (Mu) sikola *school*.

List 2: words requiring set 2

1. Sad (V, T, OT), Bug (IS, Vo, M), Mak (C, M, L), Man (Mu, TW, Mi) lima *hand* < PSS *lima.
2. Sad (V, T, OT), Mam (B), Bug (IS, NY, M, H), Mak (C, M), Man (Mu) mata *eye* < PSS *mata.
3. Sad (V, T, OT), Mam (LS) uma *wet ricefield*, Man (Mu, TW) uma *garden* < PSS *uma.
4. Sad (V, T, OT) inaa *soul, spirit*, (V, T, OT, BT) penaa *breath*; Mam (LS) penawa *breath*; Dur (BL) nawanawa *thoughts*; Bug (N, M) nawanawa *thoughts*, (IS, M) ininnawa *breath, soul*; Mak (C, M) nawanawa *thoughts* < PSS *[i]nawa.
5. Sad (V, T, OT), Mam (LS) banua *house*, Bug (IS, N) wanua *land, territory*, Man (Mu, TW, Mi) banua *territory, settlement* < PSS *banua.
6. Sad (OT, BT) dua *two*, (OT, BT) karua *eight*; Bug (IS) dua *two*, (N, M) madua *second*; Mak (C, M) rua *two* (but cf. ta?rua-na *in twos*, Cense 1979:618); Man (Mu) duadua *two, both*, (TW) da?dua *both* < PSS *dua.
7. Bug (IS, Mng) uŋa, (Vo) buŋa, Mak (C) buŋa *flower* < PSS *buŋa.
8. Sad (V, T, OT, BT) apa *what*; Mak (C) apa *what*, (C) siapa *how many*, (Standard: C, M; Tur: Ma) apaapa *something* < PSS *apa.
9. Sad (V, T, NP), Bug (IS, Mng, NY, N, M) pada *like, equal, co-*; Mak (C, K) para id.; Man (Mu) para, (TW) pada id. < PSS *pa(d,r)a (not found in the list of PSS reconstructions forming part of Mills' dissertation, 1975b).
10. Bug (N, M), Mak (C, M, L) ata *slave, servant* < PSS *ata.
11. Sad daa *north* in (V, T, OT) daanna [*what lies*] *northward of*, Bug aja in (N, M) riajanna *westward of* < PSS *daya.[14]
12. Bug (IS, M) [i]nappa, Mak (C) [i]nampa *at last, only then*, Man (Mu) nappa-nappanna *just now* < PSS (?) *nampa.
13. Bug (IS, N, H) sa?da, Mak (C, M) sa?ra *voice* < post(?)-PSS *sa(dd,rr)a (?). Not noted by Mills.
14. Sad (V, T, OT, BT), Mam (LS) kada *word*; Bug (IS, N, Pe, M, Vo) ada id., (N) adada *speech*, (N) makkəda *to say* < PSS *kada. Mak (Standard: C, M; Tur: Ma) kana *word* (cognate?) similarly requires set 2.
15. Sad (V, T, OT, BT), Mam (LS), Mai (BL) buda *many*. (No cognates are known from Bug, Mak, or Man.)
16. Bug (IS, H) wija (by Noorduyn, used with set 1), Mak (C, M), Man (Mu) bija *descendant*.
17. Sad (V, T) rupa *form*, Bug (IS, M) rupa *kind, species*, Mak (C, M) rupa *form, species*, Man rupa *face; kind, species*.
18. Sad (V, T, OT), Bug (IS), Mak (C) mula *beginning*; Man (Mu) mula-mulanna *in the beginning*.
19. Sad (V, T, OT, BT) bisara *speech, talk*, Mai bicara *talk*, Bug (IS, M) bicara *talk, issue, justice*, Mak bicara (noun) id. (The Mak verb [a]?bicara *to speak* seems to require set 1; see Cense 1979:743).
20. Sad (V, T, OT, BT, P, NP) deata *spirit, deity*, Bug (M) dewata *deity, patron*, Mak (C) rewata id.
21. Sad (V, T) Mak (C) sesa *residue*. Note Man (Mu) sesaŋ id. (back-formation?).

List 3: Discrepancies between the languages			
	Used with set 1	Used with set 2	Etymon
1	Bug (IS, N) kaka *elder sibling*	Sad (V, NP), Mak (C) kaka id.	PSS *kaka
2	Bug (IS) salaŋka *shoulder*	Mak (C, M) salaŋga id.	PSS *salaŋga
3	Bug (IS, NY) bela, Mak (Standard: C; Tur: Ma) bella *far, distant*	Sad (BT) mambela id.	PSS *bela
4	Sad (OT, BT) tanda *mark, sign*	Bug (IS, N), Mak (C) tanra id.	PSS (?) *tanda (Not given by Mills.)
5	Man (Mu) kareba *news*	Bug (IS) kareba id.	post-PSS *kareba
6	Man (Mu) saŋa *name*	Sad (V, T, OT), End (BL), Dur (BL), Mai (BL) saŋa id.	post-PSS *saŋa (borrowing?)
7	Bug (Vo), Man (Mu) rasa *feeling, perception*	Mak (C, M) rasa id.	(borrowing)
8	Bug (Vo) guna *use, profit*	Mak (C, M), Man (Mu) guna id.	(borrowing)

4.1 Now, proceeding to the problem of the origin of the two allomorphic sets of possessive enclitics in the SSul languages, we should like to quote Mills' dissertation once more. Having expressed his doubt (quoted above in section 2) as to the rule stated by Van der Veen for Sa'danese, Mills continues, in parentheses:

> (It is worth noting, however, that since /-e,-o/ usually derive < PAN *-iq, -ay and *-uq, -aw, the presence of the proto-final would have dictated the non-nasalized allomorph.) (Mills 1975b:221)

As the parentheses clearly show, Mills did not make much of the idea expressed in the passage just quoted by us. No attempt of its further elaboration is made in his dissertation. Yet this idea, as we see it, proves to be crucial for understanding the development of the SSul possessive enclitics.

It is well known that in various Austronesian languages (Ngaju, Old Javanese, the Batak languages, etc.) certain possessive enclitics have allomorphs (formally resembling the SSul sets) in the following distribution:

In the postconsonantal position: CV[...]
In the postvocalic position: NCV[...]
(V — vowel; C — consonant; N — nasal homorganic with C.)

For example, in Ngaju: arut-ku *my boat* (arut); huma-ŋku *my house* (huma).[15]

Here we will not deal with the problem of the ultimate origin of the just demonstrated distributional pattern of possessive allomorphs. It is sufficient to say that the absence of N in the postconsonantal position may be due to the almost family-wide phonotactic law prohibiting clusters from three consonants. Naturally enough, the pattern under consideration might exist at some pre-SSul stage of development.

4.2 As a general rule, word-final vowels of modern SSul languages continue PSS finals without change. So we must examine the origin of the PSS final vowels.

4.2.1 PSS *-e and *-o: The typical sources of PSS *-e and *-o are final segments ending either in the laryngeal q or in a semivowel functioning, in the given position, like a consonant:

	Pre-SSul		PSS
(1)	*-iq, *-ay	→	*-e
	*-uq, *-aw	→	*-o

Here are some examples of PSS roots (cited from Mills' dissertation): *pile *to choose* < pre-SSul *piliq; *pute *white* < pre-SSul *putiq; *ate *liver, heart* < pre-SSul *[q]atay; *ba(b)ine *woman, wife* < pre-SSul *babinay; *bulo *bamboo* < pre-SSul *buluq; *buno *to strike, to kill* < pre-SSul *bunuq; *kaso *spar, rafter* < pre-SSul *kasaw; *lino *calm* < pre-SSul *linaw.

Consequently, there is no doubt that the use of set 1 after -e and -o lends itself to the historical explanation (that hinted by Mills).

4.2.2 PSS *-a: Let us consider the PSS roots with final *a that can be traced back to some earlier, pre-SSul, level.

It is striking that almost all such PSS roots represented in List 1, i.e. those whose reflexes are used with set 1, derive from earlier forms ending in -aq:

PSS:	Pre-SSul:
*lila	*Zilaq
*sala	*salaq
*(d,r)ara	*daRaq
*təŋŋa	*təŋaq
*gətta	*gətaq
*bua	*buaq
*pinda	*pindaq
*bahba	*baqbaq
*ola	*ulaq
*tana	*tanaq

To add: post(?)-PSS *a(b,w)a < earlier *babaq

Only in two instances, namely regarding PSS (?) *ñawa and *(d)əppa, outside evidence militates against the derivation of the given roots from -aq-final earlier forms. It is worth consideration, however, that *[i]nawa, a root clearly different from *ñawa (while ultimately connected) has, in the SSul languages, given rise to a more sophisticated network of reflexes than the latter. Hence we may suspect that *[i]nawa is the inherited root and *ñawa a later, post-PSS stage borrowing. In view of the terminological nature of the lexeme 'fathom', borrowing hypothesis is also applicable to what has been reconstructed as *(d)əppa. A look at the final part of List 1 (beginning with item 20) is sufficient to convince us that post-PSS borrowings including those going back to proto-forms for which no final q is reconstructible may indeed require set 1.

On the other hand, among the PSS roots whose reflexes demand set 2 (see List 2) no one derives from a proto-form ending in -aq. Dempwolff's PAN reconstructions available for these roots end in ʻ (zero consonant). For some of these roots, recent authors propose final laryngeals *other than* *-q. Consider the following cases:

PSS:	PAN (various authors)
*lima	*limaʻ (Dempwolff 1938); *lima (Dahl 1981); *qalimaH, *limaH (Zorc 1982)[16]
*mata	*mataʻ (Dempwolff 1938); *maCaʔ (Dyen 1971); *maCaɸ (Zorc 1982)
*uma	*humaʻ (Dempwolff 1938); *qumaH (Dahl 1981; Zorc 1982)
*banua	*banuvaʻ (Dempwolff 1938); banua[ʔh] (Dyen and McFarland 1970)
*dua	*ḍuvaʻ (Dempwolff 1938); *DewSa[ʔ] (Dyen and McFarland 1970); *dʒusa (Dahl 1981); *DuSa (Zorc 1982)
*buŋa	*buŋaʻ (Dempwolff 1938); cf. PMP *buŋah (Zorc 1982)
*apa	*apaʻ (Dempwolff 1938); *ʔapaʔ (Dyen and McFarland 1970)
*daya	*dajaʻ (Dempwolff 1938); *d2aia (Dahl 1981)
*pa(d,r)a	*padaʻ (Dempwolff 1938)

PSS *[i]nawa, though hardly reducible to Dempwolff's *ñawaʻ, is undoubtedly comparable with the last-named reconstruction. Perhaps it would be realistic to posit for early Austronesian the metathetical pair *Sinawa∿niSawa (without a final q in any case).

PSS *ata, not derivable from any reconstruction of Dempwolff, may be connected with *qaRta[ ] (given in: Wurm and Wilson 1975:137).

Further, it is worth attention that such words requiring set 2 as Mak bara *embers* and Sad taliŋa *ear* are ultimately reducible to roots for which a final *other-than*-q laryngeal can be conjectured (in Zorc's reconstruction, 1982, these roots appear as *baRaH and *CaliŋaH respectively).[17]

As can be seen, the final laryngeals *H, *h and *?, which appear in post-Dempwolff reconstructions (but, in general, are not yet firmly established), do not preclude the use of set 2 with the descendant SSul words. From the SSul languages, we do not know any other traces of these 'post-Dempwolff' laryngeals either. In particular, they, unlike *-q, have not affected the preceding vowel. Compare (for *-H):

Deep-level reconstruction (according to Zorc 1982)		PSS reconstruction (according to Mills 1975b)	
PHF *Suni	*sound of birds*	*uni	*sound, noise*
PHF *dakiH	*body-dirt*	*(d,r)aki	*dirt on the skin*[18]
PMP *qaS(ə)lu	*pestle*	*alu	*rice-pounder*
PAN *quluH	*head*	*ulu	*head*

In view of what has just been said we disregard the laryngeals other than *q in our further discussion.

4.2.3 PSS *-u and *-i: With the last allowance made, we have the right to claim that in roots traceable further back the PSS final *u never continues any other segment than *-u.

PSS *-i usually continues earlier *-i. Rarely it goes back to *-uy or, apparently in one or two cases only, to *-iw:

PSS *api *fire* from earlier *[ ]apuy id.
PSS *bawi *pig* from earlier *babuy id.
PSS *lari *to run* from earlier *laRiw id.
PSS *bali *enemy, antagonist* from earlier *baliw *change* (?)

As for the use of possessive enclitics in the modern SSul languages, no difference has been observed between the words with -i < pre-SSul *-i and those with -i < pre-SSul *-uy or *-iw. Such a state of affairs might be the result of the sharp contrast, at the pre-SSul stage, between the frequency of occurrence of *-i, on the one hand, and *-uy together with *-iw, on the other hand — a contrast that was presumably still increased due to the early productivity of the verbal suffix -i, after which, naturally enough, set 2 enclitics were used. But it is also possible that the use of set 2 after -i < *-uy and -i < *-iw owes to the relative chronology of changes, viz., to the fact that the shift of -uy and -iw to -i had already taken place by the time that the other changes decisive for the present-day distribution of the possessive sets began to spread through the lexicon of the pre-SSul ancestor language.

4.3 The picture delineated above can be explained by the following hypothesis.

At a certain stage of language evolution, in pre-SSul, the possessive enclitics had the allomorphs CV[...] and NCV[...],[19] which may be treated as belonging to sets 1 and 2 respectively, while their distribution followed the widespread

pattern discussed above (section 4.1), that is: CV[...] consonants, and NCV[...] after vowels.

This stage is specified by the following features:

(1) Word-final laryngeals other than q had been deleted.

(2) The changes -aq < -a, -iq < -e, -uq < -o, -ay < -e and -aw < -o had not yet taken place or, in any case, had not yet been completed in essence (that is, the finals in question were still retaining some segments of consonantal nature or, possibly, the complementary length of vowel). It is unclear if -uy and -iw had already changed to -i or not yet.

With the completion of the changes mentioned in (2), the distribution pattern of possessive allomorph sets after vowel-final words lost its motivation. Nevertheless, particular words were used further in combination with the same allomorph sets with which they had been used at the stage defined above. Such a conservatism might seem somewhat unusual, yet it becomes intellegible on the assumption that on the eve of the changes listed in (2) the pre-SSul ancestor language already followed the accentuation pattern surviving in the modern SSul languages, which includes the following: (i) accent on the penult, and (ii) obligatory accent shift before possessive enclitics as well as before suffixes. Then, there must have existed paradigms like:

líma, limáŋku, ..., limánna, ...
líla, liláqku, ..., liláqna, ...

Such an accentuation pattern is obviously conducive to the perception of the unity of a 'noun + possessive' compound: this compound, despite its semantic transparency and some degree of syntactic divisibility (as undoubtedly there existed constructions like lima [ŋʔ] kanan-ku *my right hand*), becomes perceived as some kind of fixed entity, or, figuratively speaking, a 'near-word'. Under such circumstances, the change aq < a might, indeed, result in the continuation of earlier liláqku as liláku, instead of replacement of the former by a newly coined formation like lila-ŋku.

The pattern of distribution of the possessive sets that came into being as a result of the development just described was retained through the PSS stage. With more or less significant alterations, this pattern has even survived up to some of the present-day offspring of PSS, where it is to be labelled a deep archaism now.

As for borrowed words and various other new lexical elements that emerged during the history of the SSul languages, it appears that they were generally treated in accordance with Veen's rule. Hence, and obviously due to analogy, set 1 is used after -e and -o, and set 2 after -i and -u. Consider, for example, the substratal and/or adstratal word meaning *water*: in Buginese it sounds uae and requires set 1, whereas Sa'danese uai and Mandar wai require set 2. It is not easy to say what has determined the choice of set in the position where the frequency of occurrence of the two sets is more or less balanced, viz., after -a. Possibly the use of a particular word in the donor language has there been of some importance: compare, on the one hand, such words as rupa, mula, bicara, dewata (Buginese forms),[20] which might be borrowed from Old Javanese, and, on the other hand, sapeda, certainly borrowed from Malay, and further parakara, balañca, ñawa,[21] whose Malay origin is, in any case, not unlikely. As to Old Javanese, the allomorphs -ŋku and -nta regularly appear in the postvocalic position (e.g. in 'Adiparva', etc.: rupa-ṅku, rupa-nta). Malay lacks N-initial allomorphs of possessives. It is manifest, however, that the

very idea of influence of donor languages on the SSul set choice cannot be worded as a clear-cut hypothesis at the present stage of study.

In some of the SSul languages, accumulating changes may have resulted in the abolishment of Veen's rule. This has happened in Makassarese and obviously also in the variety of Buginese described by Matthes, provided that his description is accurate in the given aspect. At the same time, it is worth attention that Makassarese has retained such an archaic feature as the use of set 2 after the suffix -i.

NOTES

[1]The genetically based SSul group includes a number of languages spread mainly in the south-western part of Sulawesi: Buginese, Makassarese, Sa'danese (together with a few closely related idioms), Endekan, Pattinjo, Maiwan, Mandar, etc. Among them, Buginese is spoken by more than three million people (including the diaspora), Makassarese by nearly two million, while the remaining languages are numerically far weaker. On the general background of the hotly debated Austronesian language subgrouping, the SSul group is to be recognised as comparatively well defined, especially thanks to the works of R.F. Mills (1975a, 1975b). Independently of him, some argument for defining the said group has been presented by the author of this paper (Sirk 1973). As for the relations between the SSul group and other languages of southern and central Sulawesi, some observations have been made by Sirk in 1981.

In this paper, we use the following abbreviations for names of languages, dialects and proto-languages: Bug — Buginese; Dur — Duri; End — Endekan; Kon — Konjo dialect (Makassarese); Mai — Maiwan; Mak — Makassarese; Mam — Mamasa; Man — Mandar; PAN — Proto-Austronesian; PHF — Proto-Hesperonesian-Formosan (according to Zorc, 1982); PMP — Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (according to Zorc, 1982); PSS — Proto-South Sulawesi; Sad — Sa'danese; Tur — Turatea dialect (Makassarese).

[2]Our translations reflect the use of the enclitics in combination with nouns. 3p means: the 3rd person *(his (her), its, their)*.

[3]Not to confuse with Sad taa *part (of something or somebody)*, which requires set 1: taa-na *part of him (of his body, or like)*.

[4]In Buginese, the change 'nasal + voiceless stop → geminate voiceless stop' takes place regularly not only within a morpheme, but also across morpheme (and even word) boundaries.

[5]Sets 1 and 2 are not discernible in texts written with the Buginese-Makassarese script (also named lontara? script or sulapa?-əppa?).

[6]Bug amakku means *my father*; cf. note 17

[7]Parentheses in the similar position also occur, though much more rarely, in Ide Said's Buginese dictionary. However, in the use instruction of the last-named book it is definitely stated that 'the letter put in parentheses represents bunyi pelancar *euphonic sound*, and hence, e.g., pangulu: --(n)na is to be read pangulunna' (Ide Said 1977:15). As for Muthalib's Mandar dictionary, there are five different meanings of the symbol (...) listed within the 'Explanation of symbols' (p.xx), while this list lacks any commentary whatsoever, and no examples are adduced. Among the meanings listed one may find fonem pelancar *euphonic phoneme*, yet it is fakultatif *optional* that occupies the first place in the list.

[8]Syntactically, this clause parallels tauna *when he is a man*, etc. Both cases exemplify the so-called possessive, or substantive, clause construction. For the latter, see the brief remark made in the Introduction to Cense's dictionary (p.ix). The Makassarese construction in question resembles the Buginese one called '-ku-phrase' in my description of the traditional literary Buginese (Sirk 1983:188-190).

[9]In the following lists and also further, when comparing languages, we use the following abbreviations for the sources of language data (will be cited in parentheses): B — the Mamasa riddles edited by A. Bikker (1934); BL — the data concerning the languages of Lima Massenrempulu region from Pelenkahu et al. 1972; BT — translations of biblical texts into Sa'danese, particularly Kareba Kaparannuan ... 1973, and Pa'pudian 1972; C — A.A. Cense's Makassarese dictionary (1979); H — the Buginese texts edited by G. Hamonic (1980a, 1980b); IS — Ide Said's Buginese dictionary (Ide Said 1977) and the outline of the Buginese grammar compiled under his guidance (Ide Said et al. 1977/78); K — the material of the Konjo dialect from Pelenkahu et al. 1971; L — the Goa-Tallo' diary transcribed by A. Ligtvoet (1880); LS — Lombe' Susu myth edited by J. Koubi (1978); M — B.F. Matthes' works concerning the Makassarese and Buginese languages (1858, 1864-1872, 1874, 1875, 1885, 1889); Ma — the texts and glosses of the Turatea dialect from Maan 1903; Mi — R.F. Mills' dissertation (1975b); MM — the Buginese text edited by C.C. Macknight and Mukhlis (1979); Mng — the Buginese glosses and short texts found in H.D. Mangemba's works (1956, 1975); Mu — A. Muthalib's Mandar dictionary (1977); N — J. Noorduyn's study of Wajo Chronicle (1955); NP — the Sa'danese glosses and short texts from Nooy-Palm 1979; NY — the outline of Buginese morphology composed under the guidance of Nurdin Yusuf (1979); OT — the Sa'danese oral tradition edited by H. van der Veen (1924, 1950, 1965, 1966, 1976, 1979); P — the Sa'danese oral tradition edited by L. Pakan (1959a, 1959b); Pe — the Buginese text from Pelras 1979; SS — the material of the Kesu' dialect (Sa'danese) from Sande and Stokhof 1977; T — the Toraja (i.e., Sa'danese) dictionary by J. Tammu and H. van der Veen (1972); TW — the Mandar text edited by A. Tenriadji and G.J. Wolhoff (1955); V — H. van der Veen's Tae' (i.e., Sa'danese) dictionary (1940); Vo — the Rappang Buginese material edited by C.F. and F.M. Voegelin (1965); W — the dialectal (Pare-Pare) Buginese text from Wati 1960.

[10]In reconstructing PSS, we generally base ourselves on Mills' work, especially on his dissertation (1975b).

[11]When signifying 'guilt' Mak sala requires set 2 (Cense's dictionary, p.635).

[12]For Pattinjo, Pelenkahu et al (1972:49) cite solaMu (i.e., solammu) *your friend*. If not a mistake, this may reflect a suffixal formation.

[13]Before a noun, in the sense 'under', Ide Said (1977) uses riawana, Noorduyn (1955) riawanna. In the latter compound, the geminate nn may be due to the suffix -əŋ with comparative meaning; cf. Mak irawaŋanna *lower than, under*.

[14]Item 11 is clearly less conclusive than the rest of List 2, since, in view of the cognate Mak irayaŋanna *eastwards of* one might suppose the geminate nn in Sad daanna and in Bug riajanna to be the trace of an earlier suffix.

[15]For details, see I. Dyen's paper dealing with Proto-Austronesian enclitic genitive pronouns (1974:20ff.).

[16]Writing reconstructions, we omit vowel quantity marks (used by Zorc and by Dahl) and some of the so-called subnumerals.

[17]Buginese has the words (somewhat obsolete at present) ama *father* and ina *mother* comparable with PAN *amaH (Dahl 1981) / *-ama?(Zorc 1982) and *inaH (Dahl 1981) respectively. At the same time, Buginese makes use of the paradigms: (i) amakku *my father*, amammu *your father*, etc., and (ii) inakku *my mother*, inammu *your mother*, etc. The adduced Buginese material, however, does not lend itself easily to interpretation. The main reason lies in the fact that beside ina, there is also the synonym inaŋ. Of course, inaŋ may simply be a back-formation — its use in the modern spoken language (Mills 1975b:711) could be taken as an argument for such a view. But it is also possible that it is precisely inaŋ — not ina — that has served as the base for inakku, inammu, etc. If the latter was the case, inaŋ ought to be analysed as containing the suffixal element — with the addressive/vocative original meaning (cf. Blust 1979). Some interplay between vowel-final (originally referential) and ŋ-final (originally addressive) forms seems to have occurred in various Austronesian languages; cf. Malay inaŋ *wet-nurse* (this word has become referential).

[18]Compare, however, the following set: Bug darame, Mak rarame, Sad dadame, dalame *straw, stubble*. These words are reducible to a PSS root with final e, while in all the deep reconstructions available the last syllable vowel is i: e.g., Dempwolff (1938) *daɣamiʿ, Zorc (1982) *ZaRamiH. We do not suggest any explanation for the final -e in the cited SSul cognates, but certainly they do not yield any evidence for positing a change like -iH → -e.

[19]For the symbols used, see section 4.1 above.

[20]For cognates in other languages and for glosses, see List 1 above.

[21]Here, too, Buginese forms are given; cf. List 2 above.

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BijdrTLV *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*. The Hague.

OL *Oceanic Linguistics*. Honolulu.

TBG *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*. Batavia.

VBG *Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*. Batavia and the Hague.

VKI *Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde.* The Hague.

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A DIALECT GEOGRAPHY OF BUGIS[1]

Timothy Friberg and Barbara Friberg

INTRODUCTION

The Bugis people of South Sulawesi are the most numerous and progressive of its inhabitants. Population figures put their current number at more than 2,500,000. In addition to the Bugis in their homeland in South Sulawesi, their history of sailing has brought them throughout insular South-east Asia. Today significant enclaves of Bugis are found in Sumatra, Kalimantan and Sabah (East Malaysia).

It is natural that a traditional language like Bugis, spoken by so many people, should show dialect variation. Indeed, the *Language atlas of South Sulawesi* (Peta Bahasa Sulawesi Selatan 1974) lists ten dialects of Bugis. Grimes and Grimes (1987), following our lead, lists eleven.

In order to account for the possible range of speech variation within each dialect area, we decided to take one wordlist in each Bugis subdistrict. We also sampled border areas where the language situation was unclear to us. Though the subdistricts show considerable variation in area and population, we felt that one wordlist per subdistrict would yield a fairly accurate picture of the dialects, especially since the subdistrict boundaries generally follow those of former kingdoms or clan groupings.

Our procedure was to elicit the necessary information from a wide spectrum of society. Our respondents ranged in age from 13 to 80, 82 men and eight women. We tried hard to find respondents who weren't highly influenced by Indonesian or other Bugis dialects, as is natural among civil servants who are well trained in Indonesian and freely transferred between dialect areas. We did not find that transfers affected civil servants at the village and hamlet levels, so freely accepted them as respondents. Each candidate for respondent had to use Bugis as his native language and had to be born in the village (and his parents in the subdistrict) where the information was gathered.

Wordlists were gathered from the following 13 districts: Luwu (7 of 16 subdistricts), Wajo, Mamuju (1 of 6), Bone, Soppeng, Sinjai, Bulukumba (2 of 7), Polewali-Mamasa (2 of 9), Pinrang, Sidenreng-Rappang, Barru, Pangkajene-Kepulauan (from the six non-island subdistricts) and Maros. See Map 1 and Appendix A for locations and lists of data collection sites.

The wordlists were taken in phonetic notation so that phonetic form in addition to lexical form would be represented in the data. A large majority of respondents knew Indonesian well enough to respond directly without help. We permitted other local people to advise the respondent where he hesitated or so desired. However, we required that the respondent himself pronounce the word so uniformity of pronunciation could be maintained for a given location.

Papers in Western Austronesian linguistics No.4, 303-330.
Pacific Linguistics, A-79, 1988.

Ninety wordlists, each containing 216 items, were elicited and later transferred to a wordbook where each page contained one item in all its 90 varieties. (See Appendix B for a sample wordbook page.) The items were entered on the wordbook page in groups representing cognate sets. Each item was also numbered as an identification of its source wordlist.

It is possible to identify a number of problems in connection with eliciting data of this kind. For example: (1) the respondent's word for a given item may not be representative of his community; (2) he did not understand the meaning of the Indonesian word; (3) some words on the wordlist caused confusion; (4) there is always the problem of synonyms for a given item. Taking into account these types of errors in the data, it was very evident that the data collected in the 90 locations was overall accurate and presented a valid picture of the Bugis dialect situation.

In figuring the cognate percentages between wordlists, words were assigned to cognate sets (that is they were considered the same word or different) as they were transferred from wordlist to wordbook. When the wordbook was complete, these assignments were re-evaluated in light of the total picture. Words with no response (not known or not remembered) were assigned to their own empty cognate set. The differing parts of multiple responses were assigned to their own respective cognate sets and counted once for each cognate set in which they had membership. Thus, wordlist 39 with the word for month bulan in cognate set a ([ulɨŋ]), wordlist 49 with the same item in cognate set b ([ketɨŋ]) and wordlist 32 showing a multiple response (both [ulɨŋ] and [ketiŋ]), means that dialect 32 is cognate with both dialect 39 and dialect 49 with respect to the item bulan. Whereas, for the same item, dialects 39 and 49 are not cognate.

In order to assure accuracy in figuring the cognate percentages between pairs of wordlists, we disqualified 16 of the 216 wordlist items. Thus, the final number of words compared was 200. The 16 words were disqualified for various reasons: (1) ambiguity due to the Indonesian forms; (2) redundancy with other items; (3) unfamiliarity with the forms in Bugis (especially with the pronouns).

IDENTIFYING THE DIALECTS

Dialects of a language may be discrete, usually showing geographically defined boundaries, or they may be chained, where each settlement is most like its nearest neighbours and least like those most distant from it. Of course, dialects also display cultural, political and other influences. In Bugis there is found a mixture of all of these.

There are a number of ways that dialects may be identified. For our purposes we have worked with three means of identification: percentages of shared cognates, individual and composite lexical distribution and individual and composite phonetic distribution. The first method takes each pair of wordlists (90 wordlists yield 4005 pairs) and determines the percentage of shared cognates between them. High values are taken to demonstrate close dialect fit, lower values more distant fit. One would expect that relatedness is a function of distance, but that only holds in the most general sense. Historical factors play interesting games with expectations.

The second method is actually to plot the occurrences of individual reflexes on a map. Drawing the isoglosses to take in cognate sets will show potential dialect borders. When this is repeated for successive wordlist items, a bundling of isoglosses should lead to demonstrable borders. The more lines there are

coming together the more definite the border. The fewer the lines the less definite the border.

The third method is to plot the occurrences of phonetic differences on a map and draw the isoglosses as for the lexical differences. Again, individual and composite levels of inquiry may be pursued.

We have used all three methods in trying to determine the boundaries of the dialects of Bugis. In our discussion they will be presented in the order given above. Based on an analysis of the percentage of shared cognates, various dialects of Bugis will be posited. Then these will be revised as necessary in light of individual and composite lexical distribution. Finally these revised borders will again be submitted to the results of phonetic distribution and revised as necessary.

Our efforts at trying to establish dialect areas on paper for what is really spoken across Bugis territory encountered some discrete borders and some continua. Whether one takes 78%, 80% or 85% as the outer limits of a single language, the question has to be asked all over again with respect to dialect limits. Our rule of thumb has been to consider contiguous speech forms of less than 90% to be members of different dialects. But much more than a specified cut-off point, we have looked for natural breaks as we have plotted each of about 25 of the 90 wordlists as homebase (100%) against all others which were relevant. Thus, for example, when a given wordlist (such as Palakka, for which see Map 2) relates to its near neighbours at 94% to 97% but all others relate at 90% or 91% (or less), it is the natural break between 92% and 94% inclusive that speaks loudly for some sort of dialect boundary.

We would have liked to have identified four or five dialect areas and found that to be sufficient. However, the very interesting history of the Bugis people makes for a more complicated picture. Not only did numerous smaller kingdoms originate from one central area in ancient times, but also since 1670 the Bugis rulers have controlled much of South Sulawesi. This has resulted in an arrest of the process of language split among the smaller groups in South Sulawesi. It is likely that many small languages would have been formed by now had there not been the extensive Bugis influence in the area. But instead, the Bugis language now covers a vast area and includes many small subdialects (especially those groups that live in the mountains), along with the original large Bugis dialects.

The *Language atlas of South Sulawesi* lists ten dialects of Bugis. Because this is an important statement (although admittedly not meant to be definitive) of the languages of South Sulawesi, we shall list the ten Bugis dialects defined in it here:

1. Luwu
2. Wajo
3. Palakka (Bone)
4. Enna' (Sinjai)
5. Soppeng
6. Sidenreng
7. Pare-pare
8. Sawitto (Pinrang)
9. Tallupanuae (Campalagian)
10. Ugi Riawa (Pasangkayu)

This statement of Bugis dialects includes a number of areas where the boundaries are very unclear, especially in Barru, Pangkep and Maros, as well as in Soppeng, in Bulukumba and in Luwu.

Following, we first identify 23 smaller subdialects, then a discussion follows in which these are grouped into more inclusive dialects. The following 11 dialects will be described (see Map 3):

Sawitto	Sidrap	Barru
Pangkep	Camba	Soppeng
Wajo	Luwu	Bone
Sinjai	Pasangkayu	

Campalagian - in Polmas:

The dialect called Tallumpanuae or Campalagian in the *Language atlas* relates to other dialects of Bugis as another language. The atlas authors quote Abdul Muthalib (1973) as saying that Campalagian is a variant of Palakka (Bone Bugis). Our own wordlist for Campalagian relates to that of Palakka at 55% and to that of Pangkajene, Sidrap at 62%. The atlas statement that Campalagian is a dialect of the Bugis language is unfounded, since their own criterion for dialects of the same language is a relationship of 85% or higher. In response to our questions about mutual intelligibility between Campalagian, Mandar and Bugis, the local Campalagian people said they could understand Bugis better than Mandar but that Campalagian could not be understood by either of those two languages. Based on the preceding discussion, we disqualify Campalagian as a dialect of Bugis and do not mention it further.

Ugi Riawa - Pasangkayu, Mamuju:

We have included a wordlist of the Ugi Riawa dialect (as called in the *Language atlas*) in our study (located in Pasangkayu, Mamuju). According to our figures, Ugi Riawa as a dialect relates to the other dialects with a high of 91% to five locations in Wajo, Soppeng and Polmas. Without historical records by which to check our guesses, it seems that Ugi Riawa was probably colonised by immigrants from the Wajo-Soppeng area.

Locations in Southern Polmas and Northern Pinrang:

It is not easy to understand how the subdistricts of Wonomulyo (wordlist number 33) and Polewali (35), both in Polmas district, and Lembang (36), Duampanua (37) and Patampanua (38), in Pinrang district fit into the dialect picture. Each of these five relates to another at 93% or 94%. This indicates relative homogeneity of this north-western set of wordlists and yet shows their unique character too. This is more pointedly demonstrated by reference to the highest percentage of relatedness each of these holds to any other wordlist. Wordlist 33 of Wonomulyo and 35 of Polewali relate to sites in Sidrap more highly than they relate to their neighbours. The same can be said of Lembang. Duampanua (37) relates highest of all (95%) to Suppa in southern Pinrang district, and relates to a number of locations in Sidrap and Pare-pare as high or higher than it relates to its contiguous neighbours of Lembang and Patampanua. Finally, Patampanua shows its highest relatedness with Sidrap and not with intervening Sawitto (Pinrang) as might be expected.

The preceding comments clearly indicate that these five north-west samplings do not have a linguistic and/or historical tie with each other, but rather with some other area. That area is by and large Sidenreng-Rappang. Even Patampanua and Duampanua were settled by Bugis coming from Sidrap who leapfrogged the Sawitto dialect. Later another wave or two from Sidrap and other locations accounted for the current immigrant Bugis populations now found in Polewali and Wonomulyo.

Locations in Central Pinrang:

Again and again in our data, wordlists 39, 40 and 41 share a relationship. They are Malimpung (Patampanua), Watan Sawitto and (Langa) Mattirosompe, respectively. Malimpung actually claims to be a separate language, neither Bugis nor Masenrempulu. Our computations show it to be 86% cognate with Watan Sawitto, clearly within the range of the same language. But since it is only 82, 86, 78 and 80 percent related to its nearest Bugis neighbours, something must be made of its distinctive character. Malimpung is 76% cognate with the Enrekang dialect of Masenrempulu given in Grimes and Grimes (1987) and 72% cognate with Bugis-Bone. Clearly Malimpung is somehow transitional between Bugis and Masenrempulu. If we consider the lexical items in which Malimpung differs from Bugis-Sidrap, 60% of them are cognate with Masenrempulu.

Langa relates to Watan Sawitto at 94% and to the rest of its contiguous neighbours at 83% and 85%. Watan Sawitto, of long history and currently the administrative and economic centre of Pinrang district, relates to its neighbours at 86%, 90%, 88% and 88%. Formerly, Sawitto belonged to a confederation consisting of Sidenreng and Rappang. Because of this, although Sawitto was clearly a separate kingdom, it has been greatly influenced by both Bugis and Enrekang. Malimpung could well be considered a separate language, which was formed from a mixture of Bugis and Enrekang. However, it seems more reasonable at this stage to consider it a member of the Sawitto dialect, which includes Langa, Sawitto and Malimpung and is somewhat distant from the other Bugis dialects.

Locations in Southern Pinrang, Pare-pare and Sidenreng-Rappang:

Moving down from Sawitto, we find Alitta (Mattirabulu, 44) to be distinct enough from its neighbours or from any place else to be its own subdialect. Its closest percentage is 92% with Pare-pare immediately to the south.

Suppa (43), the most southerly subdistrict of Pinrang district, is likewise without close neighbour. Adjacent Allita relates at 90%; Pare-pare relates to Suppa at 94%. Its highest relationship is with Duampanua north of Sawitto at 95%. These two may have found some continuing contact by way of the sea, or it may be that Duampanua originated out of Suppa.

Sidrap with its seven subdistricts forms a relatively natural and homogeneous area. The range of relatedness of the outer subdistricts to central Pangkajene is from 93% to 96%. Since Pare-pare (42) is 95% cognate with Pangkajene and 92% with Suppa, it seems reasonable to include them too within a Sidrap dialect area.

Locations in Barru:

The subdistricts of Mallusetasi (Nepo, 45), Soppeng Riaja (46), Barru (47) and Tanete Rilau (31) are all distinct enough from their neighbours to be called separate subdialects. (Refer to Map 3 again.) This clearly reflects the separate kingdoms of these areas in centuries past. Soppeng Riaja (Soppeng west) relates to two Soppeng wordlists (3 and 4) at 92%, the second highest figures in the area. Tanete Rilau and Tanete Riaja (32) reflect their shared name in showing a relatedness of 93%, the highest in the area. Thus we identify four dialects in five subdistricts: Nepo, Soppeng Riaja, Tompo and Tanete.

Locations in Pangkajene-Kepulauan and Maros:

In the district of Pangkep, we discover a dialect unity quite opposite the Barru diversity. If we take Pangkajene subdistrict as a test centre (wordlist taken at Kabba, 62), the surrounding subdistricts (29, 30, 48, 49, 51) relate to it at 94% to 97%. Even northernmost Segeri subdistrict is 95%. Looking south into Maros district, we discover that even Bantimurung (50) and Maros Baru (63) relate northward with a healthy 96%. The most southerly west coast wordlist from Mandai (90) is a bit more distant, 93%, but still fits well with a larger Pangkep dialect.

Eastern Maros is represented by Camba subdistrict where we took two wordlists (52 and 53). These two are only 93% cognate, but both because of the distances and the other low figures involved (the closest of either to a third is Camba to Bontocani (Bone) at 89%), they appear to stand alone as their own Camba dialect.

Locations in Soppeng:

The Soppeng dialect is represented by wordlists 1, 3, 5 and 65. Marioriawa (4) shows closer relatedness to Wajo across Lake Tempe than it does with the rest of Soppeng to the south. Marioriwawo (2) shows independence of its own (91% with Watansoppeng and even lower with its Barru neighbours just over the mountain) and is thus accorded its own subdialect identity. The wordlist was taken at Kessi up in the mountains at the western limits of the subdistrict; it is likely that the eastern part of Marioriwawo (especially around Takkalalla) belongs to the Soppeng dialect.

The western extension of Bone district between Camba and Soppeng is represented by our wordlist 65 taken at interior Gaya Baru in Lamuru subdistrict. It relates northward to Soppeng at 94% better than it relates to its nearer eastern Bone neighbours (64 and 71) at 92% and 91%, respectively. (Perhaps a wordlist taken at the district centre of Lalabatu might show greater affinity for Bone.) There is historical evidence that Soppeng used this area as a route to the south, as well. We include it with the Soppeng dialect.

Locations in Wajo:

Wajo shows the greatest homogeneity over the greatest area of any dialect area in our study. If Sengkang is taken as a centre, we find all nine other subdistricts (as well as Marioriawa, Soppeng as already noted) to be related in the range of 95% to 98%. Lake Tempe probably acts more as a unifier than as a barrier. We also tentatively add Pompanua (67) and Cenrana (Pallime - 68), which historically related to Wajo via the Watanae River, which drains Lake Tempe, and which were ruled by either Bone or Wajo depending on the victorious kingdom at a given time.

North along the east coast from Wajo, Suli (11) and Larompong (12), both in Luwu district, show affinities both north and south. Each of them relate more closely to Wajo (95% and 94%, respectively) than they do to each other (92%). There is historical evidence that these southern Luwu kingdoms were linked to those in northern Wajo rather than to the northern Luwu kingdoms. Therefore, Suli and Larompong can be included in the larger Wajo dialect.

Locations in Luwu:

We had expected to find a greater unity in Luwu than we did. In addition to Suli and Larompong, we took wordlists at Bua Ponrang (10), Ware (Palopo, 7), Bone-bone (9), Malili (8) and Malangke (6). At Bone-bone the respondent was from a Bugis family and spoke Bugis, but his first language was Tae' (or bahasa Luwu, as is characteristic of the coastal Luwu area). The Bugis in Luwu who can be termed original are relatively few. Earlier strong Bugis centres in Luwu (three larger kingdoms can be identified) have been depleted, perhaps both through gradual assimilation by the more numerous Tae' people and by flight or death during the wars with Palakka (1670s) and at the time of the Rebellion (1950-1960s).

We roughly find three subdialects in Luwu. Malangke, Bone-bone and Malili comprise one loose dialect. They relate to each other at 92% and 93%. Wara is a second dialect, whose closest affinity is with Malangke (90%). Finally Bua Pondrang represents the third dialect. It is only 85% cognate with Wara to the north, and 89% with Malangke.

Locations in Bone:

Invariably reference was made to Bone as a major Bugis centre and most areas related to it in some way, whether indirectly as a place of their origins or directly as the home of their rulers. Indeed, the Bone kingdom has had widespread influence in South Sulawesi both before Goa's supremacy in the 16th and 17th centuries and even more so after the overthrow of Goa in 1667.

For purposes of determining the extent of the Bone dialect we first looked at Palakka as a centre. At first glance we would include in such a dialect Awangpone (55), Tellusiattinge (57), Sibulue (58), Tanete Riattang (59), Barebbo (60), Ulaweng (61), Leppangen (Lappariaja, 64), Pallime (Cenrana, 68), Koppe (Lappariaja, 71), Tassippi (Ajangale, 72), Ponre (73) and Cina (74). However, if we take Pallime as the centre, to which Arung Palakka moved the kingdom in the late 1600s, we may also include Dua Boccoe (56), Pompanua (67) and Pacubbe (Cenrana, 69). We earlier commented that Pompanua and Pallime might have had to look both to Wajo and to Bone (whether Pallime or Palakka) at various times. Under the discussion of Wajo we grouped them with Wajo. Here we may want to bring them back into Bone where they fit according to current administrative boundaries. We may take Dua Boccoe and Pacubbe to be their own subdialect at the northern end of Bone; indeed, speakers of this subdialect and those outside recognised its unique identity.

Mare (75), Tonra (76) and Camming (70) may be taken as transitional between Bone to the north and Sinjai to the south. Actually Mare is more closely related to Camming across the mountains (96%) than it is to Tonra (95%). The three locations relate to their northern four neighbours more closely than they do to their southern four, but here they are separated as transitional, for when viewed in relation to the whole of what lies to the north, they are different.

Locations in Southern Bone, Sinjai and Bulukumba:

From the point of view of Salomekko (80) to the south, the Sinjai dialect situation is rather complex. However, when the centre for testing is moved to Sinjai Tengah, all of Sinjai, including Tanete (84) and the three locations in southernmost Bone (Bontocani, 78, Salomekko, 80, and Kajuara, 81), can be

considered one rather homogeneous dialect. Both Palattae (79) to the north and Bulukumba city (83) to the south are given separate subdialect status. (See Map 3.)

LARGER DIALECT AREAS

These 23 dialects and subdialects of Bugis group together to form several larger dialects. Clearly there is less homogeneity within these larger dialects, but a relatedness exists that cannot be overlooked. (See Map 4.) Following are the larger dialects: 1. Sawitto (number [2] on Map 3) retains its separate identity; it is not further related to any other subdialect. 2. Pinrang Utara [1] and Alitta [3] may be joined with Sidrap [4] to form a greater Sidrap dialect form. 3. Nepo [5], Soppeng Riaja [6], Tompo [7] and Tanete [8] may be placed together quite loosely as a Barru dialect. 4. Pangkep [9] is left as Pangkep. 5. Camba [10] also remains intact. 6. Kessi [12] and Soppeng [11] become larger Soppeng. 7. Wajo [13] remains as is, including the two southernmost Luwu areas. 8. The rest of Luwu, Bua Ponrang [14], Wara [15] and Malangke-Ussu [16] fall together as a greater Luwu dialect. 9. Dua Boccoe [18] now clearly falls in with Bone [17]. Mare [19] may also be included in a larger Bone dialect. 10. Palattae [20] and Bulukumba [22] fall together with the rest of Sinjai [21] to form a Sinjai dialect. 11. Pasangkayu [23] is left as a separate dialect.

DIALECTS AS SEEN IN LEXICAL ISOGLOSSES

The second method of identifying dialect boundaries is to plot the changing reflexes for given semantic (wordlist) items on a map. Where a number of isoglosses bundle together the border should become clear. There are a number of factors that may muddy an expected clear situation. First, the changes may come from different sources. A change initiated from the east and moving north, west and south will not look the same as one that began in the north and is spreading southward. A newly subjugated area may take on certain vocabulary change from the conquering area even though the two are not contiguous. A change begun in the centre of the speech area may leave the margins separated and retaining the older form. Mountains will frequently be conservative compared to valleys containing the trade routes that carry the innovation. Second, changes may be initiated at different times from the same source. As ripples spread from a disturbed point in water, so wave of change follows wave.

In order to look at lexical isoglosses, we chose the 56 most interesting items showing difference, took the maps of their plotted reflexes and compared the composite for bundles. The result of this composite of isoglosses is shown on Map 5.

A few comments are in order on what this isogloss map says about dialect differences. It confirms the three subdialect areas of Luwu. It shows Sawitto to be a distinct area. Map 5 also shows a rather distinct boundary between the southern sector of the Wajo-Sidrap area.

The differences between the subdialects of Barru district are confirmed. The mountains between the Barru dialects and Soppeng and farther south are reflected in the border beginning between 4 and 45 and continuing southerly until that between 89 and 90. The Camba dialect is also well demarcated, again related to the mountain terrain.

The border is clear between the eastern sector of the Wajo-Bone dialects. This gives weight to the inclusion of Cenrana with Bone. As to Pompanua (67), though its border with Takkalalla (66) is definite, its border with Pammana (16) is less certain. This reflects the double influence Pompanua received, sometimes from Wajo, sometimes from Palakka-Cenrana. (The border between 16 and 67, 66 and 67, 66 and 68 is geographically the Watanae River.)

The subdialect area of Palattae (79) is evident. The border between 79 and 80 and 70 and 76 is also a mountain chain. The mountains continuing north do not seem to divide dialect from dialect. Clearly this was an area of great communication historically.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF INDIVIDUAL WORDS

The individual wordlist items and their variance across the 90 Bugis locations were very interesting. Where minority reflexes relate to other languages, one can see clearly how neighbouring languages influenced change in the Bugis language from one area to the other. A few of the more interesting items will be mentioned here. The rest are found in the expanded English version of this writeup.

1. pohon, *tree*. [poŋ], [bataŋ], [kəñaŋ], [toʔ] and [pokoʔ]. The distribution looks authentic and not due to semantic confusion, though we expect that there is some interchange possible bewteen [poŋ] and [bataŋ]. [toʔ] is shared by the Mamasa and Enrekang languages. [pokoʔ] is also found in the Konjo and Makassar languages. Makassar is found mixed with Bugis at the subdistrict level and in some cases down through the hamlet level in the Maros district and southern Pangkep. [pokoʔ] is the reflex used in the area just north of there. Surprisingly, where this mixture of peoples is found, the Bugis response for tree is never shared [pokoʔ], but always [poŋ]. Clearly the era of the introduction of [pokoʔ] was not the near present.

7. Tempurung kelapa, *half a coconut shell*. (See Map 6.) The response in Luwu was [baŋaʔ], which is also used in the adjacent Wotu language. This was found as an alternative reflex in the two Cenrana wordlists, 68 and 69, and is interesting in light of some military adventures Luwu is recorded to have had in Cenrana. [baŋaʔ] was also noted at Mare (75). The larger Bone and Sinjai area, from Dua Boccoe south to Bulukumba and as far west as Camba (52) uses the word [capɨŋ]. The Bugis word in all other Bugis areas is [kaᵗdaro], also the reflex in the Makassar and Mandar languages.

12. pisang, *banana*. The general Bugis word is [uᵗti], but [loka], the Mandar language word, is used in the Sidrap dialect area as well as in Nepo (45) and Tompo (47) to the south in Barru district. The Sawitto dialect area uses [uᵗti], but the continuation of the Sidrap dialect area to the north uses [loka] as do the recent Bugis immigrant areas of Polmas.

15. bambu, *bamboo*. A potential problem with the reflexes of bamboo, that they may only reflect different kinds of bamboo, does not seem to be borne out by the distribution on Map 7. That is, although these are clearly generalised from specific kinds, there is no randomness to the distribution of the forms given.

27. mereka, *they*. The majority of responses for this item represent [iya?] in combination with various other morphemes ([iyaman+ŋ], [iyaro], [iyanmanŋro], [pada?iya], etc.). Other responses were [idi] (or [pada idi?] or [idiman+ŋ]) in 11 locations; [alena], either alone or pluralised in 13 places; [ikoman+ŋ] at Ma'rang (29) and Salomekko (80); [iyatu?] at Pancarijang (23); [ikk+ŋ] at Suli (11); [tauwero] *(that/those person(s))* in seven places; [kita manaŋ] at Malimpung (39); [mənnaŋro] in Lamuru (65); and [maegako] at Balocci (51). The wide variety of responses given and the usual great hesitation before a response indicates that the Bugis usually use descriptive phrases and/or an affix to handle this item (and other pronouns).

55. anjing, *dog*. Overwhelmingly [asu] is the Bugis word. In most of Luwu (6, 7, 9, 10) and in Lembang (36), Sawitto (40), Langa (41) and Alitta (44) in the north-west, [bo^{k}ka] is found. This latter reflex is also found in the neighbouring (to Luwu) Wotu language. Mills (1979) represents this word as meaning bark.

66. kuning, *yellow*. Bugis has two words in use. [maridi] is dominant and central. It is also found in Konjo, Mandar, Mamuju, Mamasa and Toraja Sa'dan. [ma?uññi?] is used at the margins: in Luwu, most of Wajo, Sawitto and Alitta and the bulk of Sinjai. It is common also to Makassar and Wotu.

106. timur, *east*. The majority Bugis response is [alau?] whose distribution is seen on Map 8. This reflex, cognate with Indonesian laut *sea*, means seaward originally. Since the Bugis people are found on both sides of the peninsula, it speaks for an east coast beginning for the Bugis, whether in Luwu or Bone. [timor+ŋ] or a shorter [timo?] is the reflex of Sidrap and points north-west and parts of Luwu. Whatever the multiple origins of the speakers of the Ugi Riawa dialect of Pasangkayu, this item helps confirm a Sidrap origin. It shares the same form with Campalagian, Enrekang and Konjo. [manoraŋ] recorded in Bonebone (9) is apparently the Bugis word for north. Finally, at Tanete Rilau (31), Tanete Riaja (32) and Barru (47), we found the form [iaja]. This small enclave is very interesting. There [alau?] means west. Likely because this area had from early times been a separate kingdom whose westward view was the sea and whose eastward path was hindered by mountains, it uniquely reflects the difference in directional words.

114. rambut, *hair*. The Bugis reflexes, [gəmm+?] and [welua?], seem rather evenly divided. See Map 9 for actual distribution. [welua?] is common to languages to the north of Bugis.

148. nenek laki-laki, *grandfather*. As Map 10 indicates [nene? burane] (or [oroane]) is used north and south, being split by an area of [lato?] usage very nearly equal to the Bone and Pangkep dialect areas. A reflex including [pa^{t}toa] is found at Salomekko (80) and Perwakilan Sinjai Utara (82). [lato?] is shared with Makassar and [pa^{t}toa] with Wotu and Selayar.

181. lapar, *hungry*. The Bugis terms are [malupu] and [maliwas+ŋ], the former in common with Enrekang, the latter with Campalagian and Wotu. As Map 11 indicates, there is a split in the distribution of [maliwas+ŋ]. It is found in Sidrap, Sawitto and adjoining subdistricts and in Camba, Sinjai and adjoining subdistricts. As frequently observed, Bulukumba city has the same reflex as Bone.

198. duduk, *sit down*; [tudaŋ], [cadoʔ]. [tudaŋ] is the general term used in Bugis. But again Sawitto (including Alitta) stands apart from the rest and also shows a relationship with Sinjai. Sawitto and Sinjai use the reflex [cadoʔ], which shares a common origin with Konjo and Campalagian.

DIALECTS AS SEEN IN PHONETIC ISOGLOSSES

The third method of identifying dialect boundaries is to plot the phonetic differences for given wordlist items on a map. Again, the isoglosses separating these differences are dialect boundaries. A bundling of isoglosses indicates stronger dialect boundaries; where only one or two isoglosses occur, there the boundary is weak.

With phonetic differences a relatively small number of phonemes or phonetic features recur potentially many times through a large lexicon. Thus it is possible to compare the distribution of a phonetic feature such as [u] in lexical item [uli] *(skin)* with that of the same feature in lexical item [ulu] *(head)*. Where the distribution of separate items is similar, though clearly different, it may indicate a phonetic change in progress as the change of phonetic feature diffuses through the lexicon, item by item.

The phonetic isoglosses for Bugis do very little to change the dialect picture as already established by comparing percentages of shared cognates under the first method and confirmed by the lexical isoglosses of the second method. The two most striking conclusions are the confirmation of the Sawitto dialect area and the establishment of a Camba-Sinjai dialect area, combining the earlier-determined Camba and Sinjai dialects. These two conclusions will be evident in the discussion of individual phonetic differences to follow.

We may summarise the kinds of phonetic differences noted before the individual differences are sampled. First, there is the [ɨ/a] type. In this case one is known everywhere [a] while the other is restricted [ɨ]. This is clearly a case of either phonemic split or merger; which will wait a reconstruction of proto-Bugis to determine the individual cases. Second, there is the [u/o] type where both phonemes are known everywhere, but for certain items there is a constrast. Third, there is the [č/s] type where one [č] is standard and the other [s] is innovating.

Not all differences observed in our wordlists will be discussed below, but only enough of the interesting cases to represent the variation generally.

[u/o] variation:

There are Bugis reflexes that everywhere show [u], for example [tulu?] (*rope*, tali). There are also reflexes that are consistently [o], for example [lopi] (*boat*, perahu). There are also reflexes that are overwhelmingly [u], but with occasional instances of [o], for example [ina.ure]/[ama.ure] (*aunt/uncle*, bibi/paman). Similarly there are reflexes overridingly with [o], but with occasional replacement by [u], for example, [mapoñčoʔ] (*short*, pendek). Map 12 for [duri] versus [dori] is included as an example of this phonetic shift.

[ɨ/a] variation:

All in all there are 72 reflexes where this variation is evident, of which at most ten may perhaps be due to a reduction of another vowel to [ə] ([ə] is an

allophone of [ɨ]). In this variation the Sawitto dialect stands unique in its resistance to [ɨ]. Where other dialects regularly have [ɨ], Sawitto usually shows [a], for example, [urɨʔ] versus [uraʔ] (although sometimes Sawitto varies by replacing the [ɨ] with [o/e/i]).

In the next several variations, it will be seen how closely Camba and Sinjai pattern with respect to phonetics.

[r/d] variation:

Two different isoglosses are noted. For *leaf*, daun, we observe [rauŋ] versus [dauŋ] with [rauŋ] occurring in southern Bone from Mare (75) and Camming (70) south throughout Sinjai and continuing on to Bulukumba city (83). It also includes both Camba data-collection points.

[b/w/h/Ø] variation:

The last variation in which Camba-Sinjai so clearly pattern together is with this set. About 40 reflexes show variation with respect to some or all of [b/w/h/Ø], but the pattern is very complex. A few other variations are only listed here: [č/s], [l/n], [$^{n^d}$r/^{t}d], [t/č], [p/ᵽ]. These along with others are described in the longer version of this English writeup.

CONCLUSION

Working backwards from the unity of Bugis as a language, largely unified through common culture, geography and history, we have identified 11 larger dialects of the language. One, Sawitto, is distinct enough almost to be another language, especially when viewed through the perceptions of speakers farthest removed from it, whether from Luwu or Sinjai. At the other extreme is Soppeng, so central and basic that it might be said not to have an existence of its own, but rather to merge into adjacent dialects, especially Wajo.

Focusing on greater detail, we see that these 11 dialects consist of 23 (or more) yet more localised subdialects. These have their own identity, though the number of bundled isoglosses between them is less. Of course, beyond the scope of this dialect geography, but presupposed by it, are numerous village speech traits and yet more numerous idiolects representing the entire Bugis population, one by one.

Somewhere between language as a whole social communication form and idiolect as a building block of the larger comes the difficult to define, yet psychologically real, unit of dialect. This presentation has tried to establish the dialects of Bugis based on extensive fieldwork and a rigorous analysis thereof. What we have said here can and hopefully will be refined by additional research as well as by native-speaker interaction with these materials.

Finally, we present in closing a matrix giving the percentage of shared cognates between the ten dialects (Camba and Sinjai here are taken together), each represented by its linguistic centre (and so identified by its wordlist number).

LUWU (06)									
86	SINJAI-CAMBA (85)								
85	85	PASANGKAYU (34)							
89	91	91	WAJO (14)						
83	87	88	89	BARRU (31)					
84	90	85	89	91	PANGKEP (62)				
87	91	86	91	89	92	BONE (55)			
83	90	91	85	90	91	91	SOPPENG (3)		
79	81	83	84	82	78	79	84	PINRANG (44)	
77	78	79	79	77	72	74	78	85	SAWITTO (41)

NOTE

[1]An Indonesian version of this paper has been published in *Lontara*. The complete study behind this abridged version is held on microfiche by the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Dallas, Texas.

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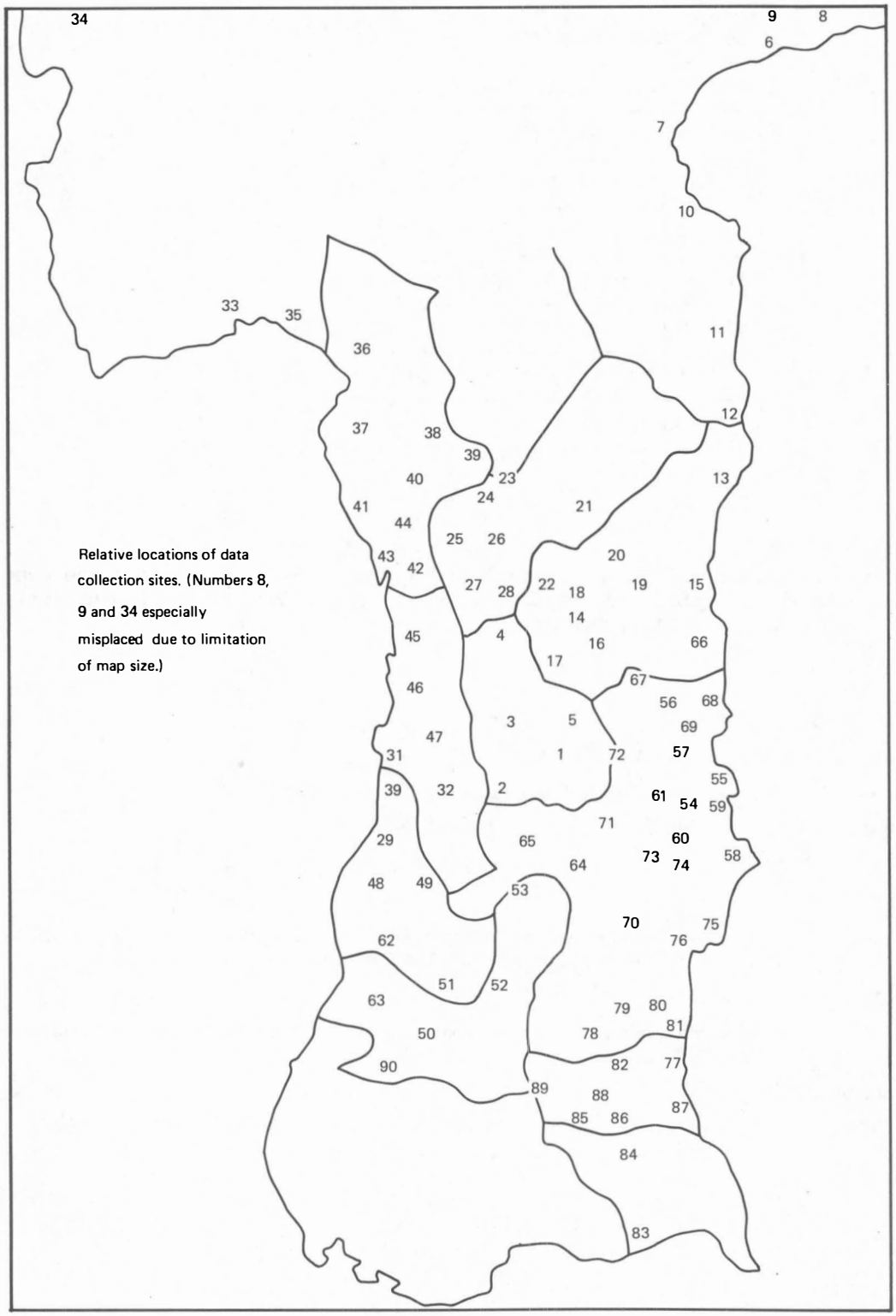
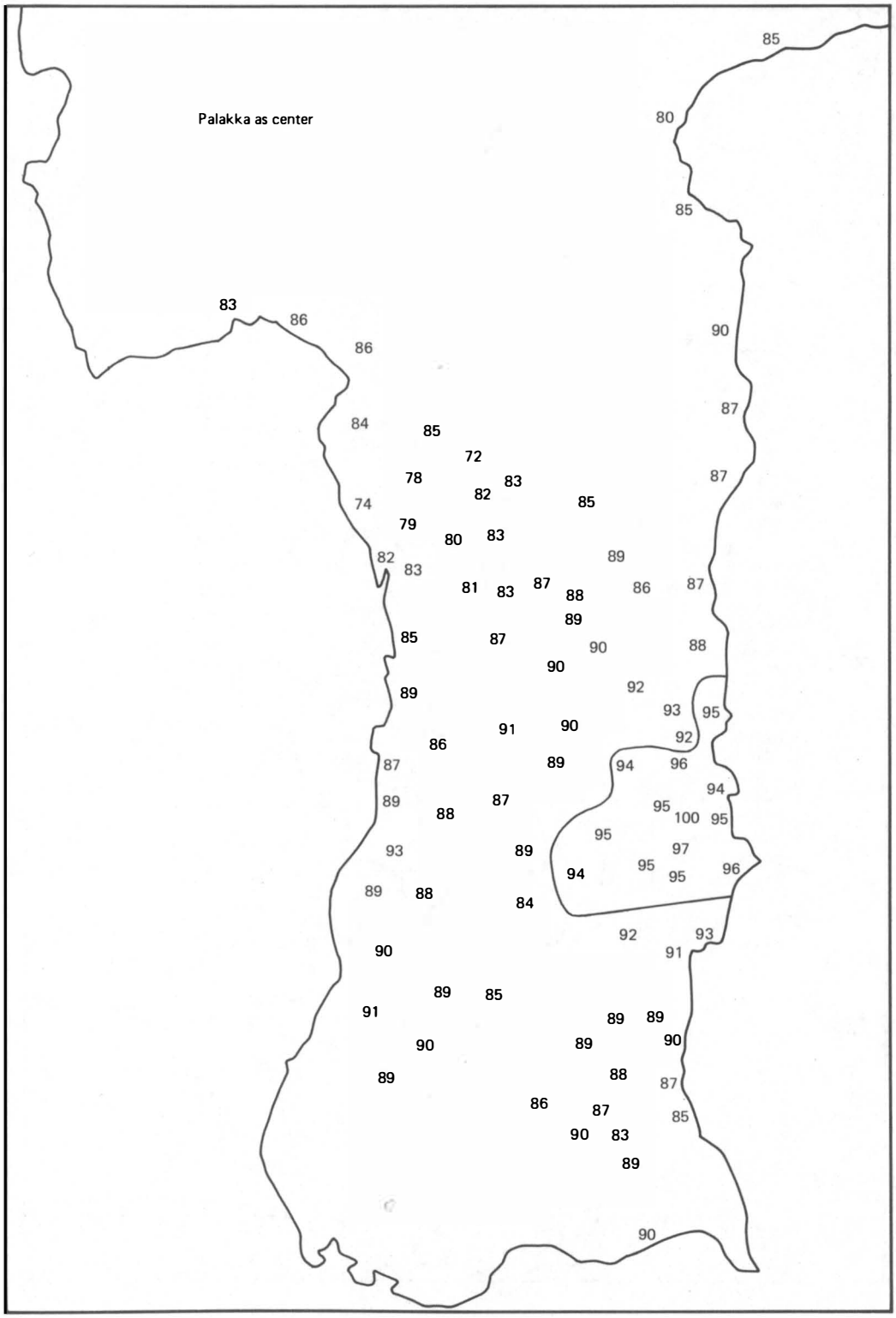
Map 1


Relative locations of data collection sites. (Numbers 8, 9 and 34 especially misplaced due to limitation of map size.)

Map 2


Palakka as center
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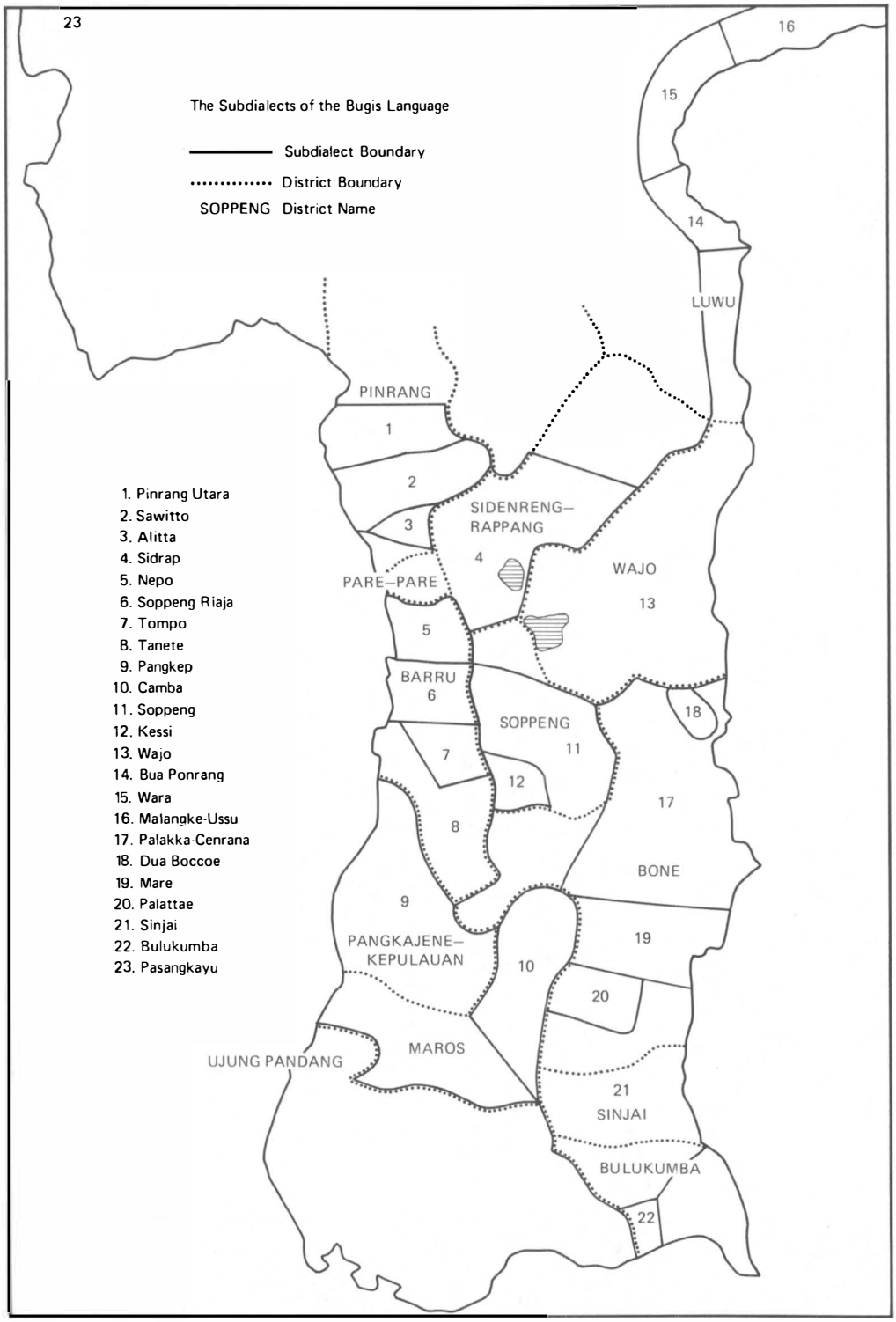
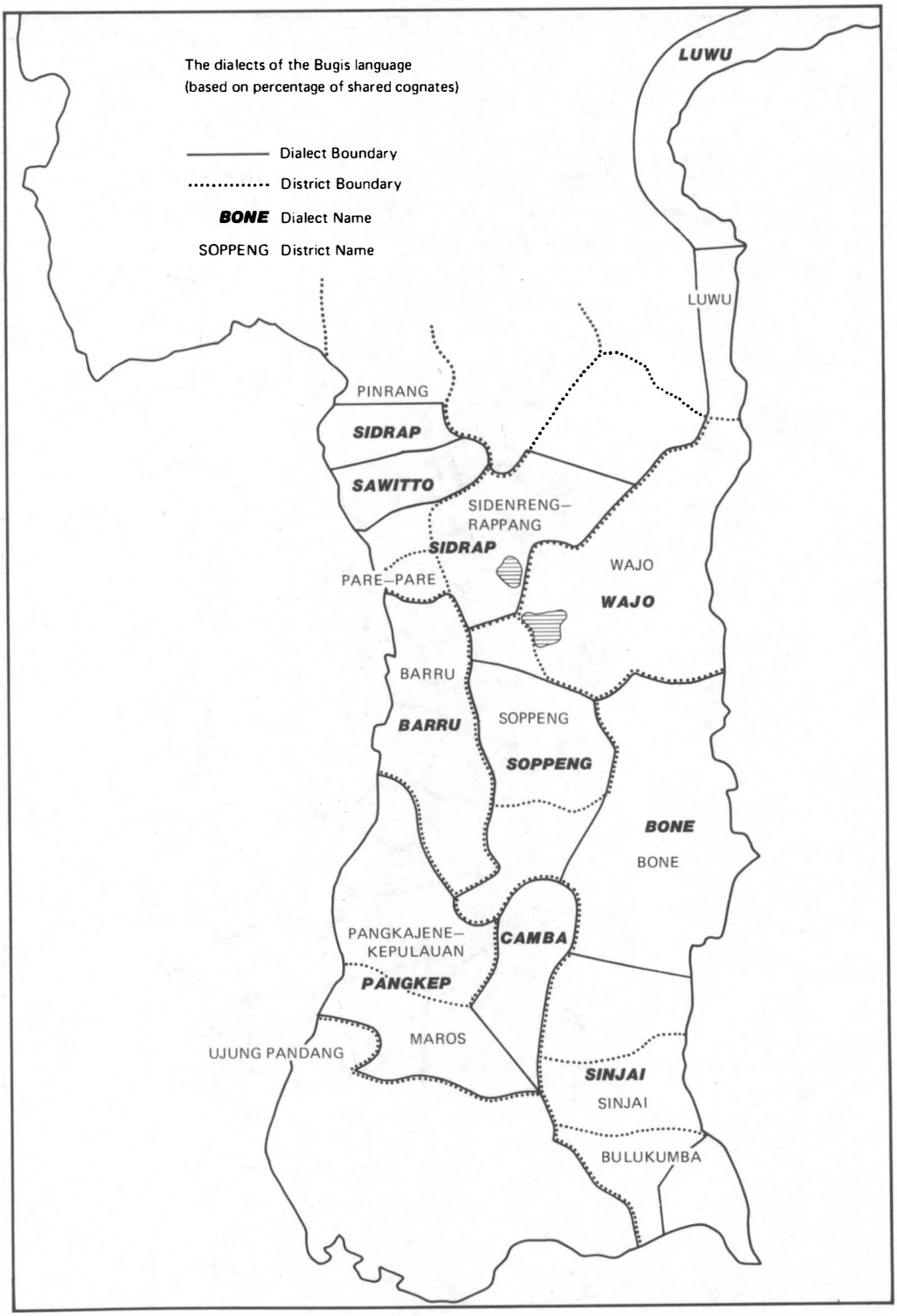
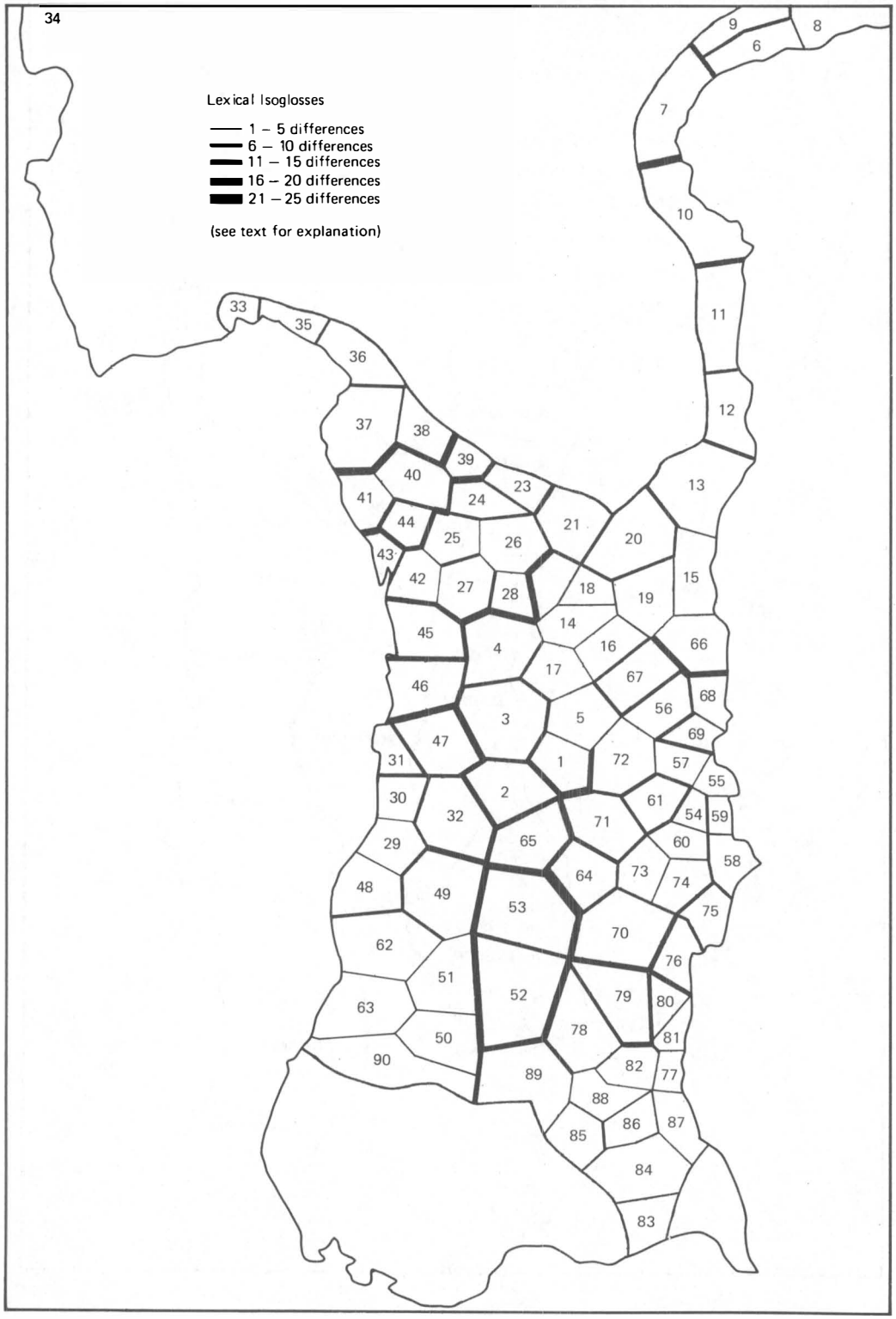
Map 3


The Subdialects of the Bugis Language
Subdialect Boundary
District Boundary
SOPPENG District Name
1. Pinrang Utara
2. Sawitto
3. Alitta
4. Sidrap
5. Nepo
6. Soppeng Riaja
7. Tompo
8. Tanete
9. Pangkep
10. Camba
11. Soppeng
12. Kessi
13. Wajo
14. Bua Ponrang
15. Wara
16. Malangke-Ussu
17. Palakka-Cenrana
18. Dua Boccoe
19. Mare
20. Palattae
21. Sinjai
22. Bulukumba
23. Pasangkayu
PINRANG
SIDENRENG–RAPPANG
PARE–PARE
WAJO
BARRU
SOPPENG
LUWU
BONE
PANGKAJENE–KEPULAUAN
MAROS
UJUNG PANDANG
SINJAI
BULUKUMBA

Map 4


The dialects of the Bugis language
(based on percentage of shared cognates)
Dialect Boundary
District Boundary
BONE Dialect Name
SOPPENG District Name
LUWU
LUWU
PINRANG
SIDRAP
SAWITTO
SIDENRENG–
RAPPANG
SIDRAP
PARE–PARE
WAJO
WAJO
BARRU
BARRU
SOPPENG
SOPPENG
BONE
BONE
PANGKAJENE–
KEPULAUAN
CAMBA
PANGKEP
MAROS
UJUNG PANDANG
SINJAI
SINJAI
BULUKUMBA

Map 5


Lexical Isoglosses
1 – 5 differences
6 – 10 differences
11 – 15 differences
16 – 20 differences
21 – 25 differences
(see text for explanation)
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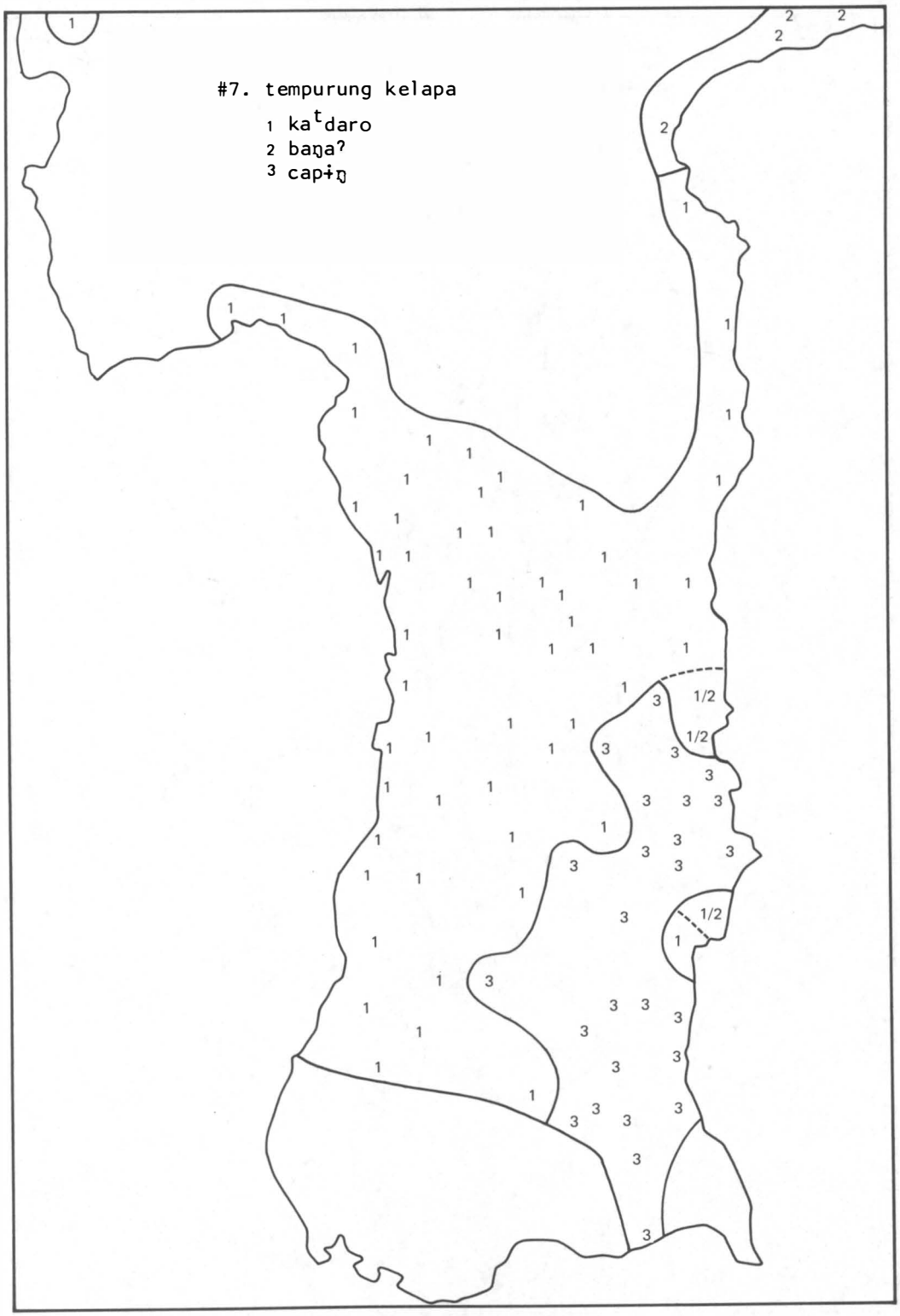
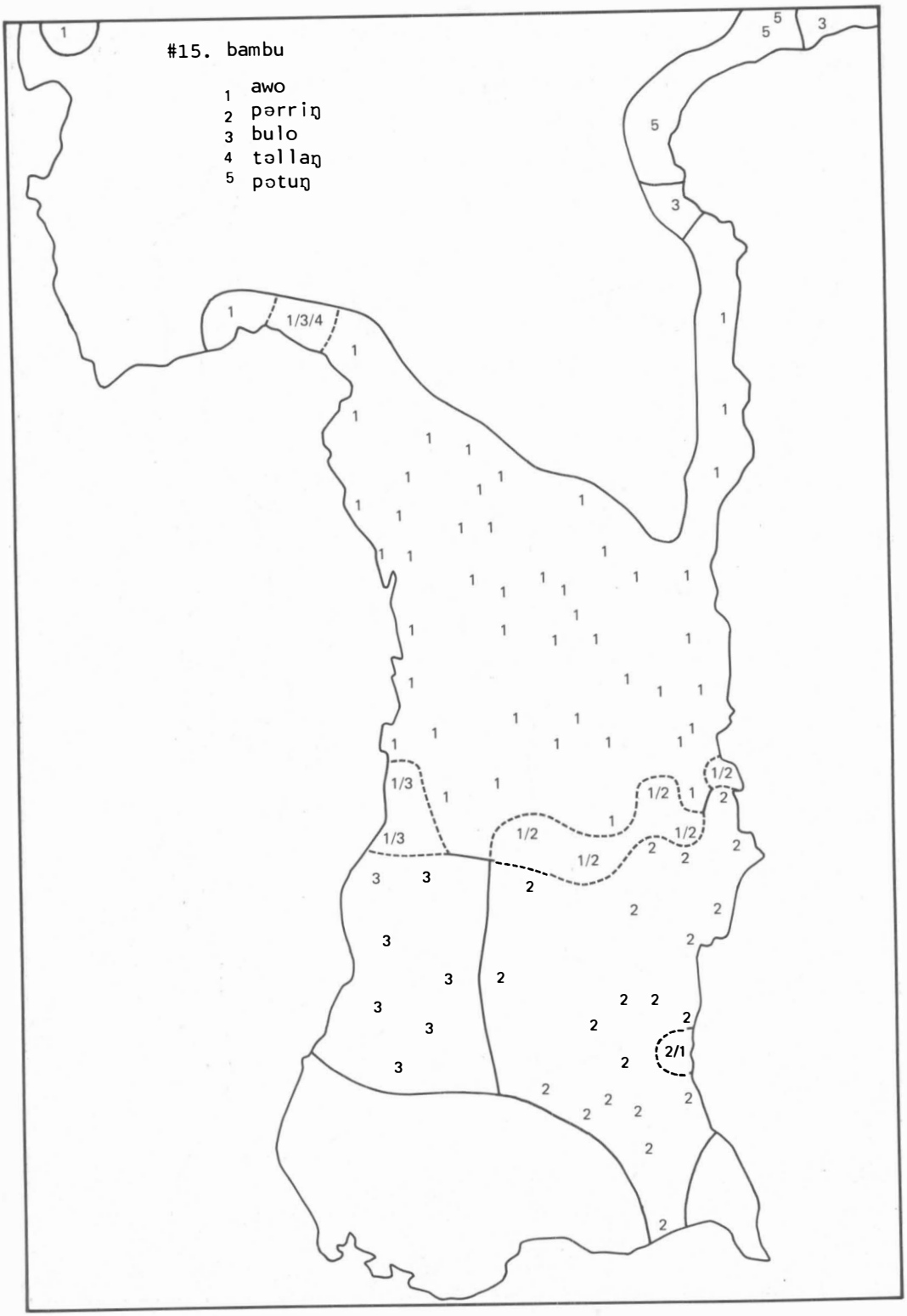
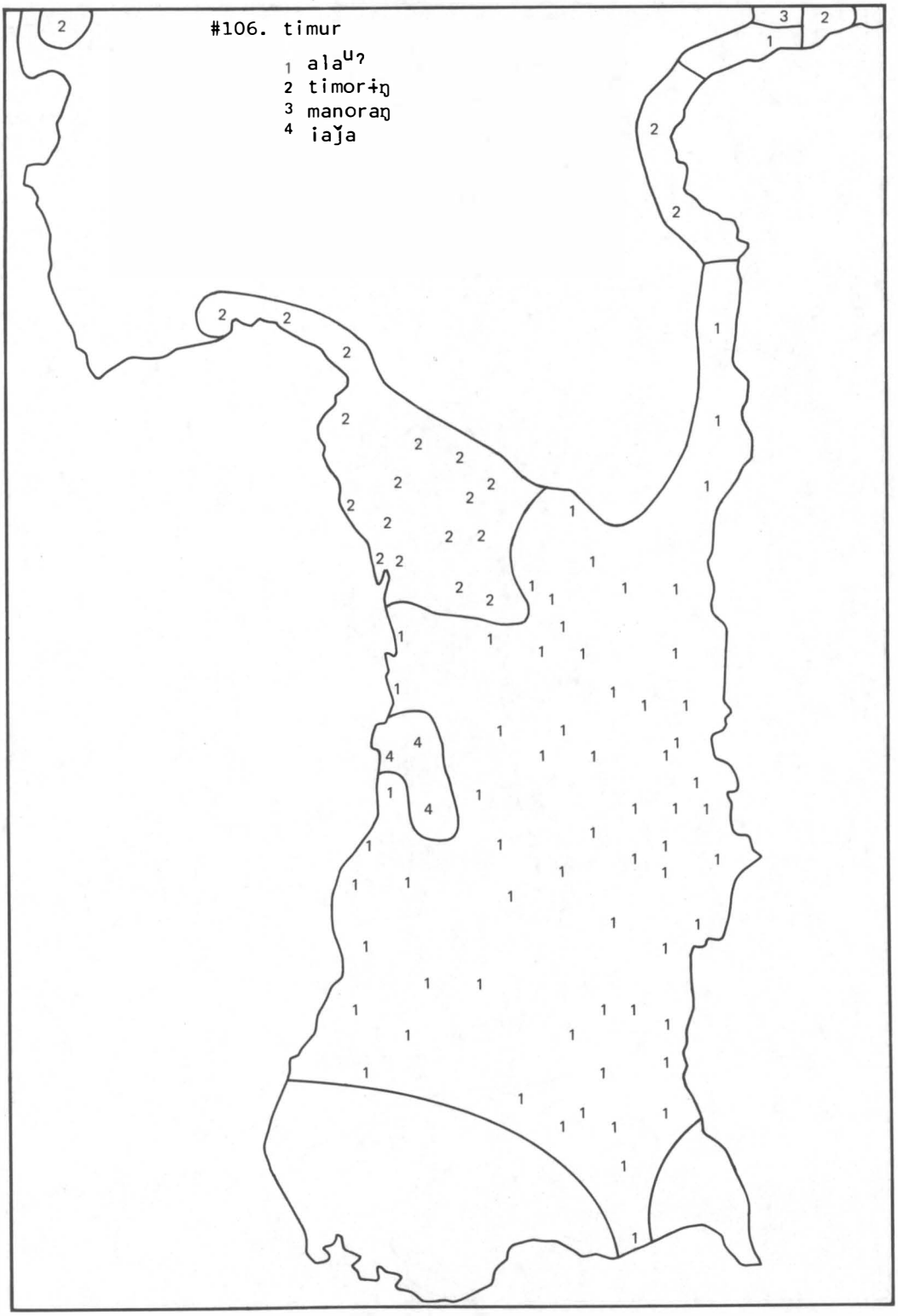
Map 6



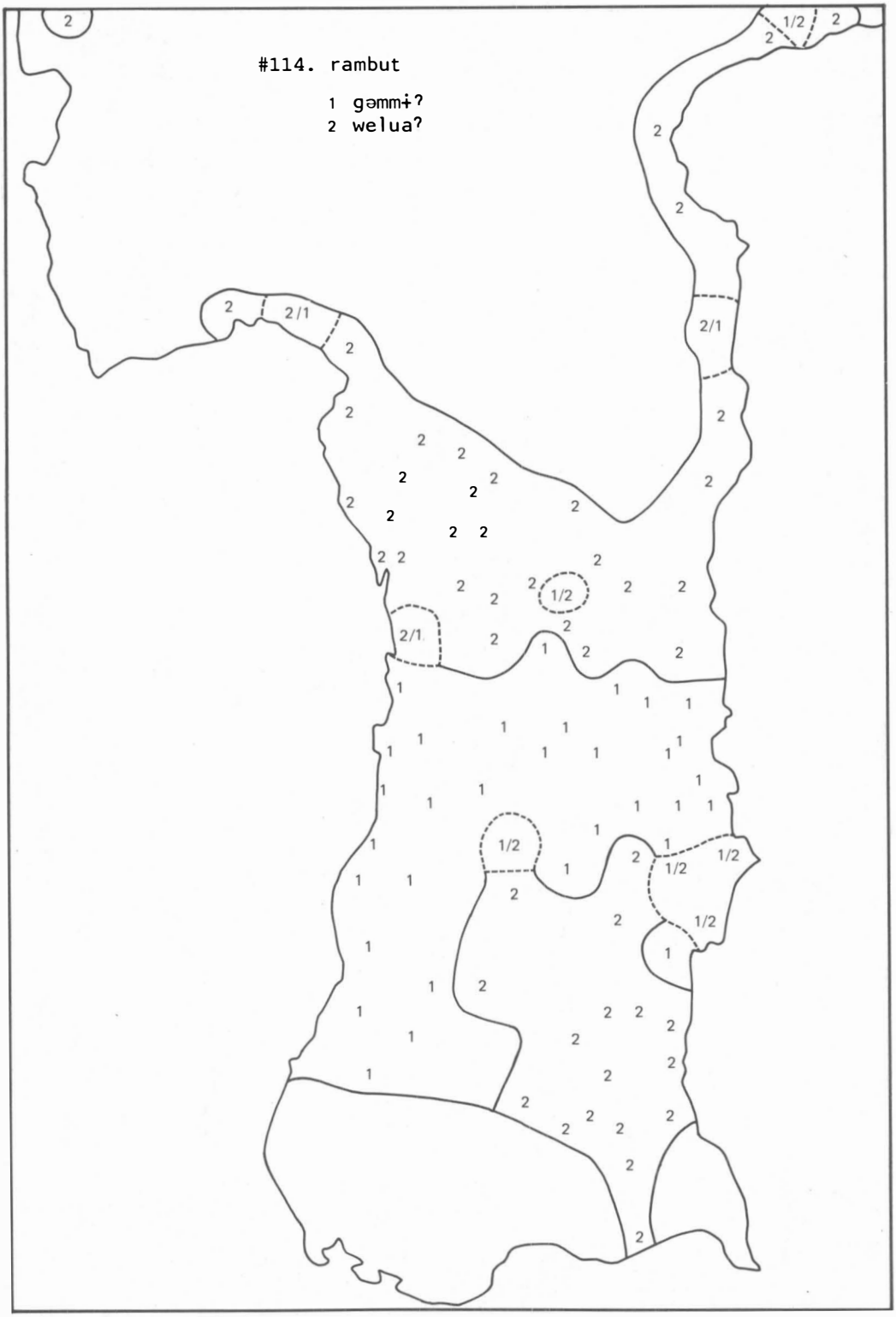
Map 7



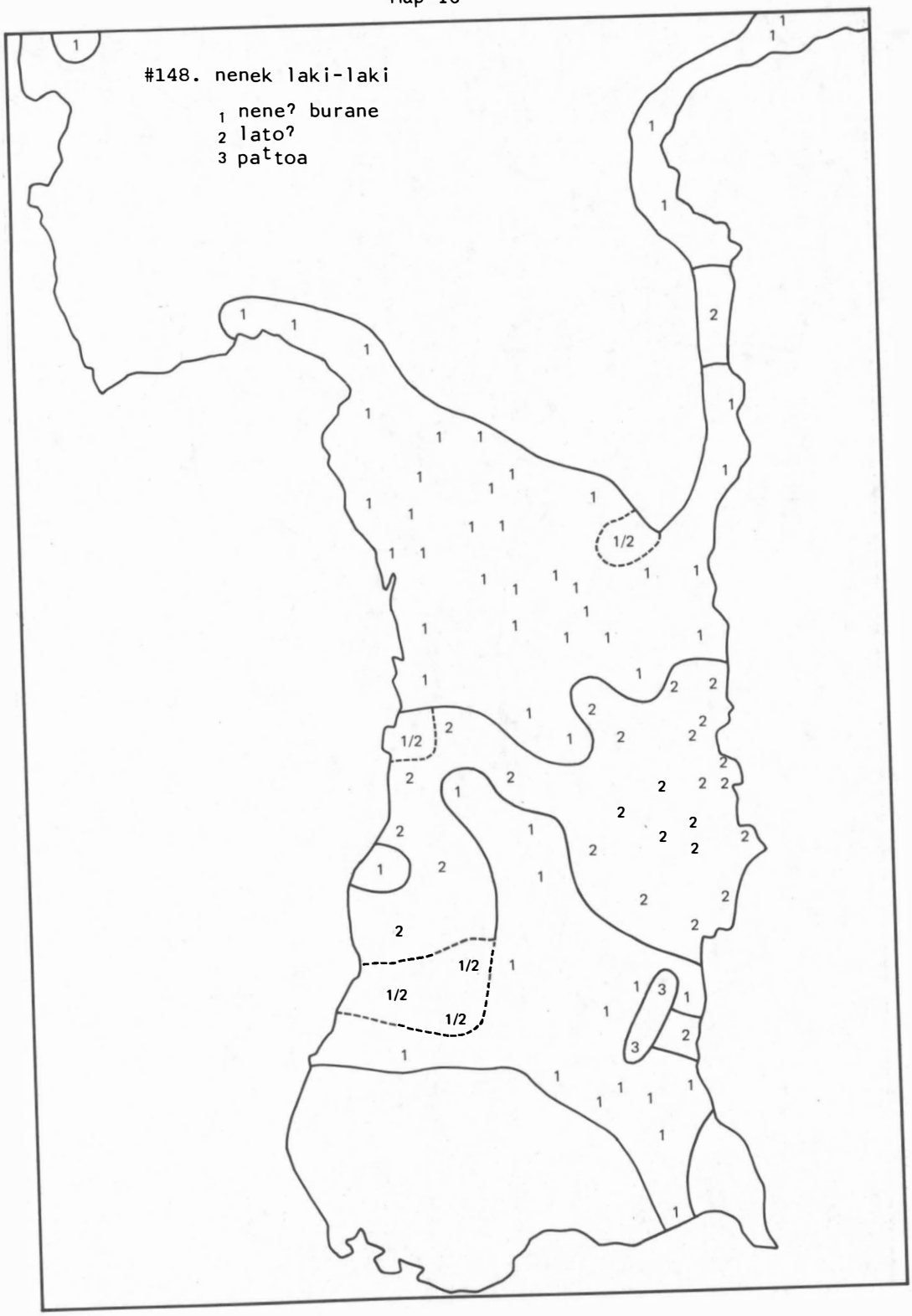
Map 8



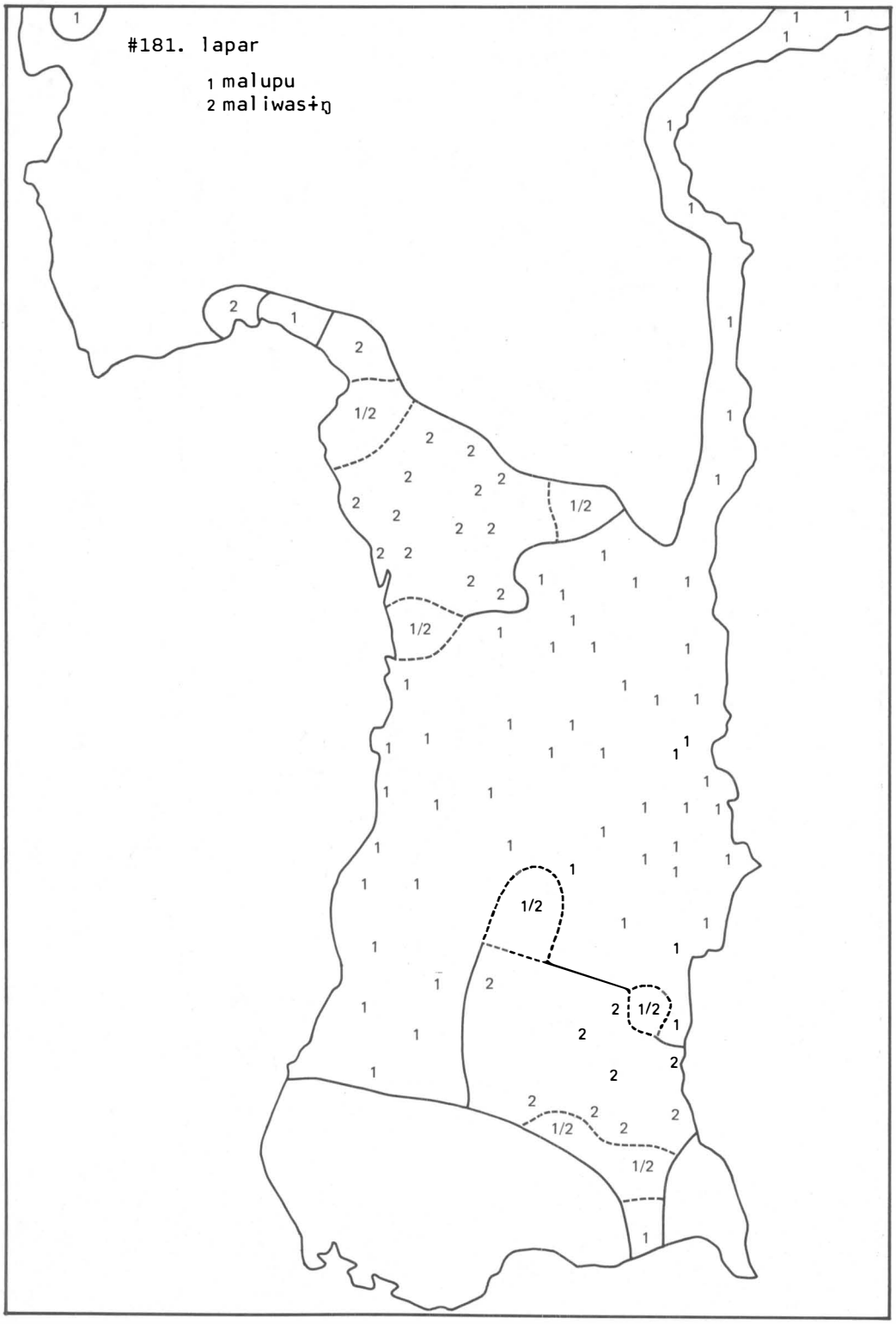
Map 9



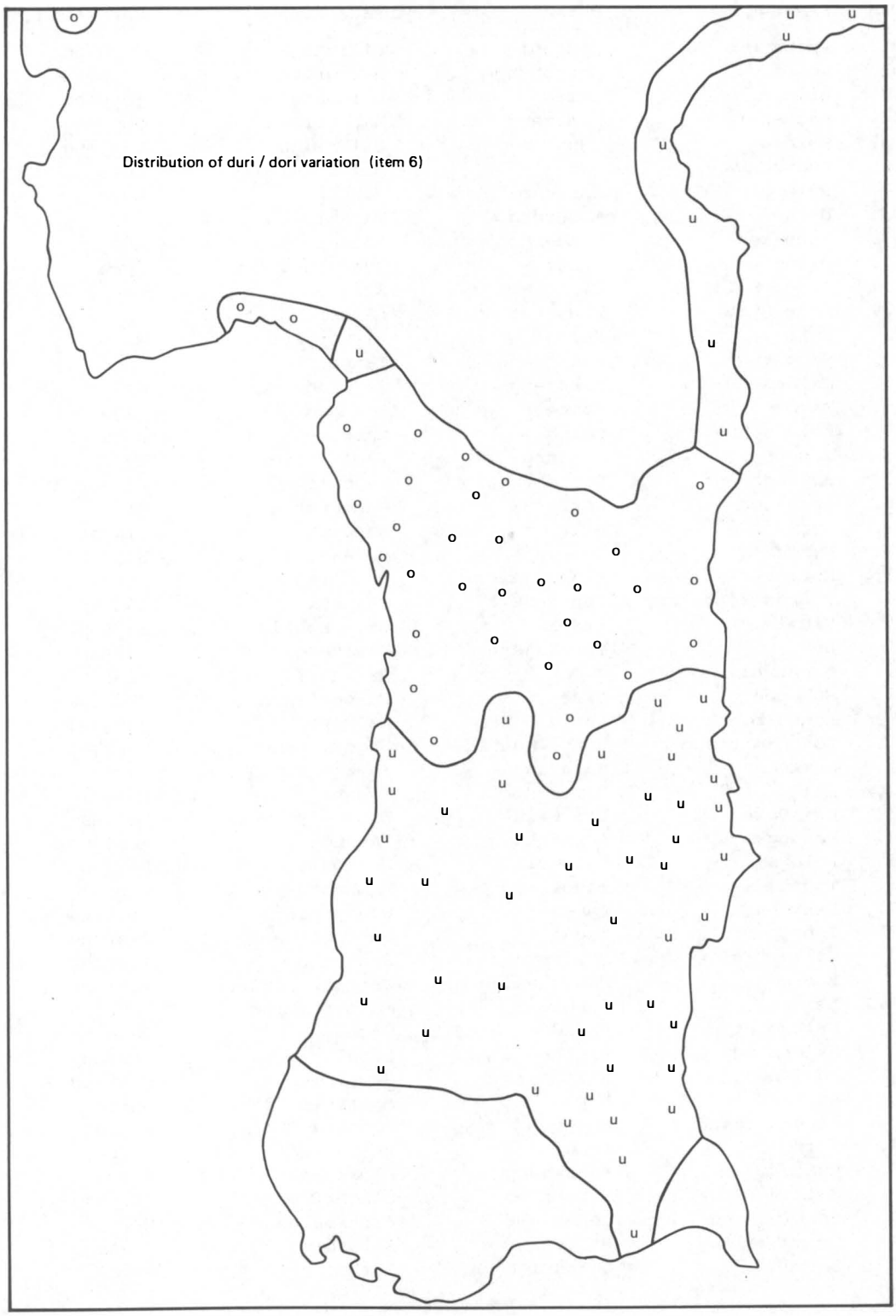
Map 10



Map 11



Map 12



APPENDIX A

WL#	KAMPUNG	DESA	KECAMATAN	KABUPATEN
01.	Apanang	Cangadi	Liliriaja	Soppeng
02.	Kessi	Gattareng	Marioriwawo	Soppeng
03.	Bila	Bila	Lalabata	Soppeng
04.	Batu-batu	Manorang Salo	Marioriawa	Soppeng
05.	Marosa	Ujung	Lilirilau	Soppeng
06.	Amassangan	Pau	Malangke	Luwu
07.	Palopo	Sabbamparu	Wara	Luwu
08.	Ussu	Manurung	Malili	Luwu
09.	Bone-bone	Bone-bone	Bone-bone	Luwu
10.	Olang	Bakti	Bua Ponrang	Luwu
11.	Cimpo Selatan	Cimpo	Suli	Luwu
12.	Bone Pute	Bone Pute	Larompong	Luwu
13.	Kera	Kera	Pitumpanua	Wajo
14.	Sengkang	Siengkang	Tempe	Wajo
15.	Jalang	Akkajeng	Sajoanging	Wajo
16.	Pammana	Pammana	Pammana	Wajo
17.	Kota Baru	Sompe	Sabbangparu	Wajo
18.	Tancung	Tancung	Tanasitolo	Wajo
19.	Bottodongga	Bottobenteng	Majauleng	Wajo
20.	Anabanua	Anabanua	Maniangpajo	Wajo
21.	Dua	Bila	Duapitue	Sidrap
22.	Menge	Belawa	Belawa	Wajo
23.	Mario	Rijangpanua	Pancarijang	Sidrap
24.	Tonronge Lautang	Tonronge	Baranti	Sidrap
25.	Uluale	Arawa	Wattangpalu	Sidrap
26.	Dua	Pangkajene	Maritengae	Sidrap
27.	Amparita	Amparita	Tellu Limpoe	Sidrap
28.	Sukeppe	Lise	Panca Lautang	Sidrap
29.	Bonto-bonto	Bonto-bonto	Ma'rang	Pangkep
30.	Bonto-mattene	Bonto-mattene	Segeri-mandalle	Pangkep
31.	Pekkae	Lalolang	Tanete Rilau	Barru
32.	Ralla	Lompo Riaja	Tanete Riaja	Barru
33.	Ugi Baru	Ugi Baru	Wonomulyo	Polmas
34.	Pasangkayu	Pasangkayu	Pasangkayu	Mamuju
35.	Polewali	Polewali	Polewali	Polmas
36.	Tuppu	Tadokkong	Lembang	Pinrang
37.	Pekkabata	Lampa	Duampanua	Pinrang
38.	Teppo	Teppo	Patampanua	Pinrang
39.	Malimpung	Malimpung	Patampanua	Pinrang
40.	Rubae	Macorawalie	Wattang Sawitto	Pinrang
41.	Langnga	Langnga	Mattirosompe	Pinrang
42.	Bulusogae	Lapadde	Ujung	Pare-pare
43.	Majennang	Wattang Suppa	Suppa	Pinrang
44.	Kariango	Alitta	Mattirobulu	Pinrang
45.	Lanrae	Nepo	Mallusetasi	Barru
46.	Lapasu/Buludua	Balusu	Soppeng Riaja	Barru
47.	Tompo	Tompo	Barru	Barru
48.	Bontowo	Labakkang	Labakkang	Pangkep
49.	Salo Metie	Tabo-tabo	Bungoro	Pangkep
50.	Bantimurung	Jenetaesa	Bantimurung	Maros
51.	Tompo Balang	Balleanging	Balocci	Pangkep
52.	Camba	Cempaniga	Camba	Maros

WL#	KAMPUNG	DESA	KECAMATAN	KABUPATEN
53.	Realolo	Samaenre	Camba	Maros
54.	Palakka	Bulutempe	Palakka	Bone
55.	Pekae	Kading	Awangpone	Bone
56.	Polejiwa	Cabbeng	Dua Boccoe	Bone
57.	Tokaseng	Otting	Tellusiattinge	Bone
58.	Pattirobajo	Cinnong	Sibulue	Bone
59.	Benteng	Bajoe	Tanete Riattang	Bone
60.	Bakke	Wollangi	Barebbo	Bone
61.	Taccipi	Ulaweng Cinnong	Ulaweng	Bone
62.	Galung Boko	Kabba	Pangkajene	Pangkep
63.	Kassi	Pettuadae	Maros Baru	Maros
64.	Leppangeng	Patangkai	Lappariaja	Bone
65.	Tujue	Gaya Baru	Lamuru	Bone
66.	Watampeneki	Peneki	Takkalalla	Wajo
67.	Pompanua	Pompanua	Ajangale	Bone
68.	Pallime	Pallime	Cenrana	Bone
69.	Pacubbe	Pacubbe	Cenrana	Bone
70.	Camming	Ceppaga	Libureng	Bone
71.	Koppe	Liliriawang	Lappariaja	Bone
72.	Maccope	Tassipi	Ajangale	Bone
73.	Lonrong	Pattimpa	Ponre	Bone
74.	Barangmamase	Lompu	Cina	Bone
75.	Kadai	Talluboccoe	Mare	Bone
76.	Bulubulu	Bulubulu	Tonra	Bone
77.	Lappa	Lappa	Sinjai Utara	Sinjai
78.	Pammusureng	Pammusureng	Bontocani	Bone
79.	Palattae	Balle	Kahu	Bone
80.	Tana Lappa	Gattareng	Salomekko	Bone
81.	Lahua	Tarasu	Kajuara	Bone
82.	Bulupoddo	Lamatiriattang	Perw Sinjai Utara	Sinjai
83.	Bulukumba	Terang-terang	Ujung Bulu	Bulukumba
84.	Tanete	Tanete	Bulukumpa	Bulukumba
85.	Jennae	Pasir Putih	Perw Sinjai Barat	Sinjai
86.	Bikeru	Sangiasseri	Sinjai Selatan	Sinjai
87.	Takkalalla	Sanjai	Sinjai Timur	Sinjai
88.	Manimpahoi	Saotengnga	Sinjai Tengah	Sinjai
89.	Manipi	Tassililu	Sinjai Barat	Sinjai
90.	Makkarae	Tenrigangkae	Mandai	Maros

APPENDIX B: Sample wordbook page

barat, *west*

1		2		3		4	
1.	ořa^{i}ʔ	7.	bař+ʔ	9.	maniyaŋ	23.	wa^{t}taŋ
2.	ořaeʔ	8.				24.	iwattaŋ
3.	ořəiʔ	10.	bařaʔ			25.	wattaŋ
4.	ořae	34.	bar+ʔ			26.	iwa^{t}taŋ
5.	ořaeʔ					27.	
6.	ora^{i}ʔ					28.	
11.						33.	iwattaŋ
12.						35.	wa^{t}taŋ
13.	uřa^{i}ʔ					36.	
14.	ora^{i}ʔ					37.	
15.						38.	
16.				89.		39.	iwa^{t}taŋ
17.				88.		40.	
18.				87.		41.	
19.				86.		42.	
20.				85.+		43.	
21.				84.	diaja	44.	iwattaŋ
22.				83.	riaja		
29.				82.			
30.				81.	diaja		
45.				80.			
46.				79.	riaja		
48.				78.			
49.				77.			
50.	ara^{i}ʔ			76.			
51.	ora^{i}ʔ			75.	diaja		
52.	ara^{i}ʔ			74.	diaja^{h}		
54.	ora^{i}ʔ			73.	diajaʔ		
55.+				70.			
56.+				65.			
57.				64.	riaja		
58.+				61.	diaja^{h}		
62.	ara^{i}ʔ			60.			
63.	ora^{i}ʔ			59.			
66.		90.	ara^{i}ʔ	58.+	riaja		
67.		85.+	hura^{i}ʔ	56.+		47.	ila^{u}ʔ
68.		72.		55.+		32.	rila^{u}ʔ
69.		71.	ora^{i}ʔ	53.	diaja	31.	ila^{u}ʔ
					6		5

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